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AUTHOR Edelsky, Carole
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ABSTRACT

The writing development of 27 first through third graders in an English/Spanish bilingual program was investigated. Samples of the children's writing were collected at four intervals during the school year, coded for computer tallying, and analyzed in terms of code-switching, spelling, punctuation and segmentation, structural features, stylistic devices, and content. In addition, the context in which the writing developed was evaluated by means of classroom observations, teacher interviews, review of the children's family backgrounds, and a survey of the community language situation. The findings provided evidence to counter prevailing myths about the language proficiency of bilinguals, biliteracy, bilingual education, research on writing, literacy and writing instruction, and learning to write. For example, the subjects, all children of migrant workers or settled migrants, demonstrated varied vocabulary, complex syntax, acknowledgement of the reader, knowledge that context constrains form, and movement toward stylistic sophistication in their writing. In a discussion of implications, the concept of a whole language approach to writing instruction is supported, in which authentic and functional texts are offered to and produced by children. (RW)

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Development of Writing in a Bilingual Program

FINAL REPORT FOR GRANT NO.

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Carole Edelsky

Elementary Education

Arizona State University

Tempe, Arizona 85287

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Volume 1 (of 2)

With special help from Sarah Hudelson, Florence Barkin,
and Kristina Jilbert.

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Development of Writing in a Bilingual Program

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PREFACE

It's still possible to hear it in teachers' lounges and read it in the popular press---"they don't know Spanish and they don't know English either. There is also an academic version. In that one, the deficit notion goes by the name of "semilingualism" or "limited English dominant" and the referent is a condition supposedly underlying low test scores or low achievement in traditionally-defined reading and Language Arts programs. It is a condition suffered by many poor minority language children (Cummins, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976) who usually live in language-contact situations.

No matter that the systematicity and legitimacy of non-standard dialects has been demonstrated so well by Labov (1970a) and so many others. No matter that rapid code switching, which is often a feature of the speech of those designated as carrying a "double deficit" (DuBois & Vald  r, 1980), has been correlated with greater rather than lesser language proficiency (Poplack, 1979). No matter that more than a decade of research into the nature of literacy (Goodman, 1969; Smith, 1978; Harste & Carey, 1979) casts doubt on a conception and "operationalization" of literacy that omits accounting for predictions (in processing) and predictability (arising from layers of multiple cues) in print events.

Substituting test responses for reading and finding poor minority language children who are poor responders to be semilingual; judging children's language proficiency from

test situations which bear little resemblance to any other communicative event---these are only a few of the ways we justify widely shared beliefs about the inferiority of certain peoples' language.

Because the language deficit idea is still with us, in both more and less sophisticated forms, this report of a study on the development of writing will begin in an unorthodox fashion. Though a later chapter will consist of a list of many myths with counter evidence from our data, this preface will hammer away at one (the myth of language deprivation), and therefore belabor a point that should need no such treatment.

The assumption in the present section is that though all members of a speech community may not subscribe to prevailing beliefs about and attitudes toward language, they know the content of the linguistic folklore (Edelsky, 1974). If that is true, then as a member of two overlapping communities loosely labeled "Western world academia" and "workers in U.S. public elementary education", I should have knowledge of the content of language deficit ideas in these two communities even in the absence of interview or survey data. Among the dimensions that I believe comprise the more global epithet called "deprivation" are: meagre vocabulary, non-standard forms, simple rather than complex syntactic constructions, use of general rather than precise nouns, failure to account for the needs of the listener/reader, and wording that reflects "poor quality of thought" (which probably means a lack of particular cohesive devices, non-linear organizations, absence of keen or sustained analysis, absence of inferences or

syillogistic features etc.). The first two dimensions, vocabulary and non-standard forms, have been mentioned in academic discussions of semilingualism (Hansegard, 1962, cited in Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukoma, 1976). Simple syntax and quality-of-thought dimensions, have been examined in numerous studies concerned with the legitimacy, for school curricula, of poor or minority children's language. (See Bernstein, 1970; Labov, 1970a; Cummins, 1979 for examples of such work). While the reviews are mixed about the adequacy of these children's oral language usage, they are much clearer in showing this population's written language incapacities.

However, when "real" writing, not warm-up drills or tests masquerading as reading or writing, but writing created to function in a given context, is used as data, the incapacity is not so clear at all. The writing of our subjects (children of migrant farm workers and settled migrants, typical recipients of the language deficit appellation) argues against the idea that the authors are deprived in vocabulary or syntax. It also belies a deprivation claim regarding other aspects of language and literacy, such as accounting for co-participants (readers, in this case) and varying textual features in response to contextual features.

The data to refute the deficit myth come from a study of writing in a unique bilingual program. At four different times during the 1980/81 school year, a team of researchers collected the writing of 9 first, 9 second, and 8 third graders enrolled in the program. The children's writing was analyzed

in several respects in order to establish some base line information on development of writing in a bilingual program. The team also gathered other data: interviews with teachers and aides, classroom observations, the results of a language situation study, background information on our subjects' older siblings, test data on our subjects, and observations of administrative, parental, and other community members' responses to the bilingual program. These data were used to help in understanding the contexts through which the children's writing was developing. As the team analyzed the data, it became clear that there were many examples that counter numerous myths/theories (deeply-held systems of beliefs that organize perceptions and experiences (Harste & Burke, 1977)) current among teachers and/or researchers. These will be presented in a later chapter (chapter 4), as will the need for, purposes, and assumptions of the study (chapter 1), the methodology, derivation of categories used in coding the writing, means of collecting all the data, and types of analyses (chapter 2), detailed descriptions of the contexts through which the writing occurred and developed (chapter 3), findings from the computer analyses of the codings (chapter 5), and classroom implications (chapter 6).

The focus on the still-existent myth of non-standard minority language children's language deficits in this opening section has two purposes: to entice the reader by revealing at least a few of the "goodies" in advance of the traditionally ordered "purpose of the study, methodology, findings,"

etc.; and to set the tone for the entire report by putting our major bias up front. That is, as with the counter evidence to this first myth, the entire analysis has been guided by an assumption that our subjects, like all normal humans, have language strengths (the ability to hypothesize, to cope with and produce variations, etc.).

Instead of deficiencies, our subjects' writing shows use of varied vocabulary, complex syntax, knowledge that context constrains forms, acknowledgement of the reader, and a move toward stylistic sophistication.

Vocabulary

The children used words that do not appear in primary grade readers---words like encerrado (isolated), autor (author), se emborrachó (he got drunk), en ese instante (in that instant), sorprenderse (to be surprised), apacar (to calm), travesuras (pranks), lagartija (small lizard), apestaba (smelly), mugroso (filthy), and cachetada (a wallop of a smack). They used words belonging to "sets", such as names of dinosaurs gleaned from Social Studies units, names of animals (tigre/tiger, tecalote/owl, perro/dog, gato/cat, guajolote/turkey, lagartija/small lizard, mapache/raccoon, chango/monkey, ratón/rat, león/lion, oso/bear, conejo/rabbit, girafa/giraffe, vaca/cow, gallina/hen, pollo/chicken, pato/duck, marana/pig, elefante/elephant, caballo/horse, víbora/snake, loro/parrot), body parts (cabeza/head, pelo/hair, mano/hand, pierna/leg, pie/foot, dedo/finger, boca/mouth, diente/tooth, panza/stomach, belly, garganta/throat, ojo/eye, nariz/

nose), articles of clothing (ropa/clothes, zapatos/shoes, gorra/cap, sueter/sweater, camisa/shirt, pantalones/pants, chortes/shorts, calcetinas/socks, traje/suit, chaleco/vest, blusa/blouse, falda/skirt), direction words or relational terms (abajo/under, arriba/over, alrededor/around), time words (anteayer/day before yesterday, anoche/last night, ahora/now, mañana/tomorrow), and onomotopeia (cua cua/quack quack, pío pío/peep peep, tig tag/tick tock, tan tan/da dum). Not only did the subjects in this study collectively produce such sets of words (sets that are often subject to isolated drills with "language development" posters in many primary classrooms), but also individual children used a variety of items appropriate to a given topic in a single piece of writing. For example, when writing about Santa Claus, a second grader used many words and phrases pertaining to that character---chimenea/chimney, gorra/cap, cinto negro/black belt, traje rojo/red suit, botas negras/black boots, trineo con venados/sleigh with deer). Example (1) was written by the only subject who wrote almost entirely in English. Note the lexicon third grade Ray had available for his piece about the problems and solutions a ten-year-old car owner would encounter.

- (1) If I could drive a car, I would go everywhere--to Mexico to Washington to Utah to California. I would travel all around the world. I bet it would be so much fun. One thing I wouldn't like is to buy gas because it would be too much money. I would look for a job for a ten-year-old. Then I wouldn't have to worry so much. I would take a course in auto repair to learn to repair my car. Then

I wouldn't have to worry about my car breaking down. I would save money to buy me a tool box, some extra tires, some rims, a tire tube and a jack-some good seat covers. I would probably make it into a low-rider, that's if I had the right kind of car. A nice car is enough but the fuel is too much, and of course I would have to have a driver's license because a policeman would stop me and ask me for my driver's license. If I did not have a driver's license he would write me a ticket that I wouldn't like that at all. And that is the end of my story.

Our subjects also revealed that they could invent words by using morphological rules. A child who wrote about eating hot chillis and needing to drink cold water, explained that me enchilé la boca (I chili-peppered my mouth).

Contrary to popular opinion about code-switching, many of the children's infrequent written switches were not prompted by not knowing the term in the language of the sample. In the same piece there is estaba muy muy sad (I was very very sad) and estaba muy triste (I was very sad). In others, por eso está loquito. El dinosaurio es crazy. (that's why he's a little crazy. The dinosaur is crazy.); el mapache los engañaba (the raccoon played tricks on/tricked them) and el mapache les jugaba tricks (the raccoon played tricks on them); el mapache lo engañó (the raccoon tricked him) and then y el raccoon, cuando los hombres ciegos andaban comiendo... and the raccoon, when the blind men were going along eating...).

Another opinion concerning vocabulary, heard in educational quarters, is that poor non-standard Spanish/English bilinguals or non-standard Spanish speaking children know few nouns and that they substitute cosa (thing) for each void in

their normal repertoire. In fact, we did not find even one clear example of this phenomenon in over 500 pieces of writing. Most of the pieces contained precise nouns rather than any all-encompassing cosa. Example (2), a description of a picture, might have been written with cosa substituted for the following nouns: gorra(cap), cinto(belt), traje(suit), botas(boots), trineo(sleigh), venados(deer). It was not---and neither were any other pieces we have.

(2)

Eddie F. martes, 12-3-80
 Es un santo clo y el se mete por la chiminella el me da presentes y d tiene bigotes y tiene una gorra y tiene un cinto negro grande y tiene un traje rojo y las botas son negras y y tiene un trineo con venados.

Es un Santo Clos y él se mete por la chimenea. El me da presentes y él tiene una gorra y tiene un cinto negro grande y tiene un traje rojo y las botas son negras y tiene un trineo con venados.

It's a Santa Claus and he puts himself through the chimney. He gives me presents and he has a cap and he has a big black belt and he has a red suit and his boots are black and he has a sleigh with deer.

However, there were times when the children used circumlocutions, often rhythmically symmetrical, in place of what was most likely an unknown word. In (3) Juanita used phrases such as la otra que tenia los huevos magicos (the other one that had the magic eggs) and él que no era magico (the one that wasn't magic) to distinguish between two rabbits and two eggs. She might have said el huevo ordinario (the

ordinary egg) or la coneja anterior (the first/former rabbit), but she probably did not know these expressions. Nevertheless, her effort to describe in order to distinguish is a clear help to the reader and also a reflection of her ability to anticipate potential ambiguities.

(3)

Mágico Huevo

Un día estaba un huevo que era mágico y estaba tirado. Se le había caído a una coneja y la coneja estaba triste porque había perdido su huevo. Ella no sabía que era mágico y otra coneja se lo halló. Ella no era mágica como la otra que tenía los huevos mágicos. Y cuando la otra coneja se le perdió el huevo una agarró él que no era mágico. Cuando nació el mágico huevo el nació con una capa negra como los que son mágicos. El estaba haciendo magia y su mamá lo halló.

The Magic Egg

One day there was an egg that was magic and it was thrown out. It had fallen from a rabbit and the rabbit was sad because she had lost her egg. She didn't know that it was magic and another rabbit found it. She wasn't magic like the other one that had magic eggs. And when the other rabbit lost the egg, one rabbit got the one that wasn't magic. When the magic egg hatched it was born with a black cape like those who are magicians. He was doing magic and his mom found out.

Cohesive links between propositions and clauses may reflect both lexical and semantic development. Over 60 different lexical links were found in the children's writing. They could be categorized as additive, adversative, causative or temporal (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Though not all were always used with thus-categorized intent (for example, y/and was used as a filler as well as a semantic link signalling additional-meaning-to-come-in-the-next-clause), many were. At the beginning of second grade, Perlinda, (4),

used adversative and causative links with adult-like meaning.

- (4) A mí me gusta agarrar a animalitos y darles comida pero no me gusta matarlos porque no me hacen nada a mí. Por eso no me gusta matarlos porque ellos son mis amiguitos. Ni me pican.

I like to catch little animals and give them food but I don't like to kill them because they don't do anything to me. Therefore I don't like to kill them because they are my little friends. They don't bother me either.

By February, some first graders were also using other links besides *y*, as (5) reveals.

- (5) Hoy es miércoles. Ahora no vino la maestra porque todavía está mala. Pobrecita, está mala.

Today is Wednesday. The teacher didn't come today because she's still sick. Poor thing, she's sick.

Syntax

Simple active declarative sentences were common at the beginning of the year for first graders. However, by mid year, even first graders were also writing adverbial phrases at sentence beginnings (en la noche, vamos al cine/at night, we're going to the movies) and relative clauses (ahora la maestra trajo una sueter cafe que le hizo a su nieto/now/ today the teacher brought a brown sweater that she made for her grandson). An example of first grade production of multiple adverbial clauses can be seen in (6).

- (6) Yo y mi papá fuimos a una casa a poner cemento y cuando acabamos y mi papá se enborachó y mi papá me dió dinero y (indecipherable) y cuando se enborachó más me dió más dinero y enborachó más me dió dinero--un dólar y compré una soda, chocolate, peras chilasas y enchilé la boca. Y le da Chui. Mi primo, Chui Carlos

se chila y yo también me enchilé la boca
y tomé agua.

My dad and I went to a house to put down
cement and when were were finishing my dad got
drunk and my dad gave me money and (indice-
pherable) and when he got drunker he gave me
more money and he got more drunk he gave me
money--a dollar and I bought a soda, chocolate,
chili pears and I chili-peppered my mouth.
And he gives Chui some. My cousin Chui Carlos
chili-peppers himself and I also chili-peppered
my mouth and I drank water.

By third grade, the appearance of writing with adverbial and
relative clauses resembled (7) and (8).

- (7) El Conejo Loco
Un conejo loco que vive en un hoyo mugroso
y feo adentro del hoyo apestaba y tenía papeles,
basura y libros tirados por todos lados. Había
una muchachita pasando por allí y cuando pasó
por allí dijo--Ay, que feo huele aquí. Habrá
un zorrillo.--Y en ese momento que estaba pen-
sando, salió el conejo de repente y la niña
se asustó y gritó. Cuando la muchachita gritó
el conejo se rió y cuando refa brincaba y
caminaba pero la muchachita le dió una cachetada
y se le quitó lo loco.

The Crazy Rabbit
A crazy rabbit that lives in a filthy ugly hole
inside the smelly hole and it had papers, gar-
bage and books thrown all over. There was a
little girl passing by and when she passed there
she said, "Oh how ugly it smells here. It must
be a skunk." At that moment that she was
thinking, the rabbit came out suddenly and the
girl got scared and screamed. When the little
girl screamed the rabbit laughed and when he
was laughing he was jumping and walking but
the little girl gave him a wallop of a smack
and he quit his craziness.

- (8) One day I was sitting at home eating nuts. I
cracked one open and instead of a nut inside
I found a termite, very big and hungry that
I fed him and he ran off and said, "Good-bye."
So I said, "Good-bye" back. The End.

The variety in clausal constructions in our samples is

matched by variety in sentence types. In some of the samples, we find questions, imperatives, and exclamations within dialogue (¿qué pasó? mi hija. Dime. Apúrate/what happened, my child? Tell me! Hurry! in a first grader's story about seeing a ghost in the house; el cocodrillo se murio y el Popeye dijo 'yay'/the crocodile died and Popeye said 'yay', in a movie summary by a first grader). In others, questions, and exclamations are not couched in dialogue. Second grader Perlinda used questions as a stylistic device--as an excuse for offering information in (9).

- (9) Yo hice un totem pole y se miraba bien bonito y a todos le gustó y era bien, bien, bien, bonito y bien grande y bonito y era cafe. ¿Y sabes cuántas caras tenía? Tenía siete caras. ¿Y sabes de qué color es? Es azul y verde y color rosa y negro y amarillo y cafe y anaranjado y era bien, bien bonito y me gusta mucho y lo tengo en la escuela y está dentro de mi escritorio y es bien bonito y grande.

I made a totem pole and it looked really nice and everybody liked it and it was really, really, really nice and really big and nice and it was brown. And do you know how many faces it had? It had seven faces. And do you know what color it is? It's blue and green and pink and black and yellow and brown and orange and it was really, really nice and I like it a lot and I have it at school and it's in my desk and it's really nice and big.

In (10), her question is a means of interacting with the reader (not to obtain a second turn, as is often the case with children's y'know what utterances (Schegloff, 1972), since turns are irrelevant within a written monologue, but to give exclamatory weight to the offered news item and also to signal solidarity with the addressee).

(10)

Querida Yolanda,

A nosotros los gustaron las galletas. Estaban buenas. Quieren a tener un contest para ver quién agarra 1,000,000 popsicle sticks. ¿Y sabes qué? Yo tengo una mona bien bien grande y mi hermana dice que se parece a mí!

Tu amiga,

P.

Dear Yolanda,

We liked the cookies. They were good. They want to have a contest to see who gets 1,000,000 popsicle sticks. And do you know what? I have a really really big doll and my sister says it looks like me!

Your friend,

P.

An example of the use of non-dialogue exclamation written, by a third grader, is (11).

(11)

La Nuez Engusanada

Un día estaba en mi casa comiendo nueces. Yo pelé una y adentro no tenía una nuez. Era un gusano y me asusté y hasta grité de susto, pero el gusano se fue y yo fui a agarrar dinero para comprar más. Y fui a comprar a la tienda pero la tienda estaba cerrada. Entonces me fui a mi casa muy triste y otra vez me hallé el gusano y yo estaba muy enojada con el gusano porque yo tenía muchas ganas de comer nueces y nomás me fui y no paré de caminar hasta no llegar a mi casa. Y ya era de noche y me acosté y en la mañana cuando me levanté me acordé de que iba a comprar nueces. Entonces me fui a comprar y la tienda sí estaba abierta y entré. Entonces me fui a donde estaban las nueces pero ya no había nueces porque ya se habían acabado. Entonces me fui a mi casa y cuando llegué, sorpresas! Había nueces por todos lados y comí hasta no llenarme y viví feliz para siempre.

The Wormy Nut

One day I was at home eating nuts. I peeled one and there wasn't a nut inside. There was a worm and I got scared and almost screamed from fright, but the worm left and I went to get money to buy more. And I went shopping at the store but the store was closed. Then I went home very sad and again I ran into the worm and I was very angry with the worm because I really wanted to eat nuts and only I left and didn't

stop walking until I returned home. And it was already night and I fell asleep and in the morning when I got up I remembered that I was going to buy nuts. Then I went out to shop and the store was open and I went in. Then I went to where the nuts were but there weren't nuts there anymore because they were all gone already. Then I went home and when I arrived-surprise! There were nuts all over and I ate and ate until I was stuffed and I lived happily ever after.

Not only did the children vary their sentence types for different purposes, they also varied their verb usage, employing both simple and more "advanced" tenses, such as subjunctive and conditional constructions. Example (11) above shows sophisticated sequences of past tenses. Second graders made use of the subjunctive

(12) Querio Maestro G.

Nosotros le vamos a escribir una historia porque usted está malo y nosotros no sabíamos que usted estaba malo de la panza o de la garganta. Nosotros queremos que vuelva para atrás a la escuela porque nosotros lo queremos mucho porque usted está bien malo. ¿Qué le duele? ¿Está malo? ¿Bien malo? Que (indecipherable) no se puede levantar de la cama. ¿Por cuál calle es para su casa? Yo no sé donde vive. Si supiera donde viviera, yo cuando saliera de la escuela me iba para su casa con la bike a verlo como estaba malo o poquito. Nomás que no se levantaba. Yo quisiera que usted estuviera bien bueno y también yo quisiera...

Tu amigo,
A.

Dear Mr. G.

We're going to send you a story because you are sick and we didn't know that if you were sick in the stomach or the throat. We want you to come back to school because we want it a lot because you are very sick. What hurts you? Is it bad? Well? Bad? That (indecipherable) you can't get out of bed. What street is your house on? I don't know where you live. If I knew where you lived I, when I left school, I

would go to your house with my bike to see how
(if) you were really bad or a little (bad).
Only don't get up. I wish you were really well
and also I wish...

Your friend,
A.

and even the first graders used complex verbal constructions.

- (13) Monstruo y Señorita Monstruo y El Paseo en
Bicicleta.
La bicicleta empieza bajar por la loma dema-
siado rápido. Los niños ven lo rápido que van
pero Monstruo y la Señorita Monstruo no se dan
cuenta. Monstruo sigue mirando a la Señorita
Monstruo y sigue hablando y hablando. ¿De qué
estarán hablando? Monstruo debería estar
mirando por donde va la bicicleta. Empieza a
irse más y más rápidamente.

Monster and Mrs Monster and the Bicycle Ride
The bicycle began to go down the hill too fast.
The children see how fast they're going but
Monster and Mrs. Monster don't realize it.
Monster continues talking to Mrs. Monster and
goes on talking and talking. What must they
be talking about? Monster should be watching
where the bicycle is going. It was beginning
to go faster and faster.

(Note that (13) also contains an example of a non-dialogue
question within a narrative.)

Certain syntactic constructions, functioning in certain
ways (such as the use of a question as a device to "justify"
the provision of later information) reveal children's know-
ledge of pragmatic and semantic implications of the syntactic
structures. Sometimes the children used strings of contin-
gency statements. Regardless of the non-standard forms, we
believe the examples that follow show that their authors
understood conditionality and the impact such strings might
have on a reader or the intensity they build up regarding
an emotional topic. Example (14) is an excerpt from a long

letter about a Social Studies unit on Creek Indians, written to the Program Director---and designed, we believe, to endear the writer to the addressee by exaggerating the importance of the Director's own interests (students, language, school, etc.) In the end, perhaps the pattern overcomes the writer, so that he reverses the contingent conditions---or else his elevation of language exceeds that of even the most dedicated linguist!

- (14) Si no hay sol, no hay leña y si no hay leña no hay papel y si no hay papel no hay escuela y si no hay escuela no hay estudiantes y si no hay estudiantes no hay lenguajes y si no hay lenguajes no hay niños.

(If there isn't sun there isn't firewood and if there isn't firewood there isn't paper and if there isn't paper there isn't school and if there isn't school there aren't students and if there aren't students there aren't languages and if there aren't languages there aren't children.)

Example (15) is an excerpt from a piece written in response to the teacher's question, "how would you feel if you were like one of those children" depicted in a movie about two parents who adopted 19 severely handicapped children. The movie seemed to have touched this second grade writer deeply as she imagined her role as a sister of a handicapped brother. Her "if" phrase (y qué para si/ and what if---loose translation) might be unconventional, but her understanding of sibling obligations in response to unrealized conditions (i.e., of conditionality) is not.

- (15) ¿Y qué para si mi hermano está así? Yo me iba sentir muy, muy sad. ¿Y qué para si estaba blind y no se podía bañar y le tenía que ayudar

y yo le hechaba agua y jugaba con él. . .

And what if my brother was like that? I would feel very very sad. And what if he was blind and couldn't bathe himself and I would have to help him and I would put water on him and would play with him. . .

Variation in Form

The children's understanding that different conditions require writing that differs in length, structure, content, precision, etc. will be demonstrated in chapter 4, which will treat a variety of ideas that these data should force us to question. Here, I want to show only a few ways forms in the writing varied depending on other aspects of the writing situation.

One such aspect was function---for what purpose were these forms, these graphic symbols called letters, being used? Until mid-year, all the children used manuscript writing (at mid-year, the third graders began to write in cursive) and all used both upper and lower case letters. Although for younger children, upper and lower case letters often seemed to be in free variation, this was not always the case. Capital letters usually began each part of a name, even if the parts (i.e., first and last name) were not separated by spaces. Some examples follow in (16).

(16)

(a)

JOSE LUIS



(b)

ROSAMARÍA



(c)



(d)

O fevoro

Simos valentines

i se bs chamos A

JOSE LUIS i se lo chamoch

(e)

17 febrero 1981
Jose AM

Another variable that affected the form words took was the nature of the word itself and also the type of object in which the word occurred. First graders often wrote in their journals about going to Circle K (a quick-stop quasi-super market) or to K-Mart (a large discount store). They also occasionally wrote about quantities--numbers of days, ages, etc. They might have abbreviated both store names and number words by "copying" K (the store's sign) and 5, yet they did not. Instead, they spelled out logos (ceimart, ceimar for K-Mart; circocoi, ceircocoi for Circle K) but used numerals or numerals combined with words for numbers. Thus, someone tiene 12 grado 6 (is 12 years old, 6th grade) or was sick for 5 cinco días (five days) or received Valentines on el catorce 14 (the fourteenth). When drawing and labeling stores, however, I observed a child drawing a picture depicting a store with a sign over it saying Kmar. In other words, they have some understanding of the possibility of alternate means of representing different words and even the same words under different circumstances. As Smith (1980) distinguishes between text (book) and sign (environmental print), so do these "language-deprived semilinguals" who know that logos are for signs, words are for texts, and that number words are a special category of word that does

not have to be represented with anything related to the sound of the word.

A signal for the reader to rectify slips of the pen (inadequate planning, as in the humorous poster PLAN AHEAd) accounted for different ways of signalling word boundaries. When first grade Christina began the next word too close to the preceding one, she inserted a hyphen for separation. Otherwise, she used spaces.

(17)

Today 'is' Wednesday
Today the Ticher brot
a motersed and the moter
ed is prite and the
motersicol is ^{now} and it kost
alot of monie. Yesterday it
Woz or program and We
sang about the letel rabet
and about the snack And
it Woz for and i list
it.

Today is Wednesday.
Today the teacher brought
a motorcycle and the
motorcycle is pretty and
the motorcycle is new
and it cost a lot of
money. Yesterday it was
our program and we sang
about the little rabbit
and about the snake and
it was fun and I liked it.

A third grader made a distinction even college students have difficulty with (Barkin, 1981)---using contrasting spellings for the homophones a ser (to be) and hacer (to make). In (18), Jesús varies spelling according to meaning, even though he uses a stable invention for hacer and its derivatives.

Tesis D

4-10-77

Si yo fuera magico
yoaria muchos mas y
luego yo sacaria un
conejo y mucha mas
para y yo le enseñaria
a una muchacha a ser
magico para que ella
les dijera a sus
madres que podian ser
magicos y cuando crecieran
les enseñaria a los
animales como ser mucha
cosas y todos los
animales fueran amigos
y miraran lo que
era el animal que
estaba haciendo el magico
y se sentaban a
mirar el magico y el
animal que estaba viendo
el magico sacara
un pajarito.

Si yo fuera mágico yo haría
muchas cosas y luego yo
sacaría un conejo y muchas
cosas más. Y yo le enseñaría
unos muchachos a ser
mágico para que ellos les
digan a sus mamás que po-
dían hacer mágica. Y cuando
crescieran les enseñaría
a los animales como hacer
muchas cosas y todos los
animales fueran amigos y
mirarán lo que estaba ha-
ciendo el mágico. Y se
sentaban a mirar el magico
y el animal que estaba
haciendo el magico sacará un
pájaro.

If I were a magician I would
do many things and later I
would take a rabbit out and
many more things. And I
would teach some children
to be magic so they would
tell their mothers that they
could do magic. And when
they grew up they would
teach the animals how to do
many things and all the ani-
mals would be friends and
they will look at what the
magician is doing. And
they were sitting down to
watch the magic and the
animal that was doing the
magic will pull out a bird.

Acknowledgement of the Reader

As with the preceding issue, variation in form, there are many ways the children acknowledged the needs of the reader. These too will be treated more extensively in chapter 4. For the present discussion, however, concerning evidence that disputes language deficit notions, I will

focus on the children's use of terms of address, parenthetical remarks, and other explicit references that relate writer and reader.

Address terms in letter headings most often matched the ethnic identity and language proficiency of the addressee. The Anglo monolingual-English principal was the recipient of many letters written in Spanish, but he was rarely addressed as señor--almost always as Mr. The Anglo bilingual program Director was addressed as either Sra. or Mrs. Chicana teachers and aides were more often addressed as Sra. in the children's writing, though they too received an occasional Mrs. A particularly telling example of matching language of address term to ethnic identity is found in example (19), an introductory letter to a pen pal in another classroom. Though not used as terms of address for a reader, Mrs. and Sra. are parceled out according to ethnicity.

(19) Querida Sonia,
Yo me llamo Manuel. Me gusta comer carne y a
mí me gusta jugar basebol. ¿A tí te gusta
jugar basebol? Y mi maestra se llama Mrs.
Casper y la second maestra se llama Señora
Gomez.
Tu amigo,
Manuel

Dear Sonia,
My name is Manuel. I like to eat meat and I
like to play baseball. Do you like to play
baseball? And my teacher's name is Mrs.
Casper and the second teacher's name is Sra.
Gomez.
Your friend,
Manuel

At first glance, it might seem that the children were simply using the address terms that they have heard; i.e., Mr. might be perceived as part of the principal's name since no one really calls him Señor. It is the case that the monolingual Anglos' names include an English title. Adult Chicano names in the school were not so unambiguous however. They began with either the Spanish or the English title with the latter choice seeming to be more frequent. Since the children more often chose to write the Spanish title, it is our impression that they were not replicating the frequency of the oral input; i.e., it seems that input received was more frequently English title + Spanish surname, while written output was more frequently Spanish title + Spanish surname. A frequency count of oral title usage would be necessary to determine if the children were merely writing a name they had heard or were exercising code choice as appropriate to addressee.

Parenthetical remarks, being asides to a reader, provide more evidence that children accounted for a co-participant. In reports and summaries written for an assignment-giving audience, the teacher, they anticipated a reader's desire for precise information they knew they could not supply. Thus, they wrote disclaimers such as the following: (in a report about a school musical program) Primero cantaron La Bamba. Después cantaron no me acuerdo cómo se llama la otra canción que cantaron (First they sang The Bamba. Then they sang I don't remember the name of the other song

they sang.); (in a report of a week-end event consisting of buying a motorcycle trailer) Mi papá le dijo que cuánto costaba y parece que le dijo que costaba \$120. Allí por allí no me acuerdo. (My daddy asked her how much it cost and it seems that she told him it cost \$120. Whatever, I don't remember.); (in a summary of a movie about characters making an escape by boat) Ellos no querían a tomar agua del mar porque yo no sé que pasa ellos sabían que el agua tenía mucha sal. (they didn't want to drink the sea water because, I don't know what might happen, they knew that the water had a lot of salt).

It was in letters that our subjects most often related themselves to their readers. They established that they shared similar interests

(20) Querido Mr. G,
Yo te quiero decir feliz cumpleaños tuyos y la maestra me dijo que a tí te gusta pescar y cazar y a mí me gusta cazar también y pescar y ojalá que tengas una fiesta.
Tu amigo,
Eddie Fl

Dear Mr. G,
I want to say happy birthday to you and the teacher told me that you like to fish and hunt and I like to hunt too and fish and I hope you have a party.
Your friend,
Eddie Fl

or past experiences, passed medical advice tinged with some self-righteousness,

(21) Querido Señor G,
Yo le mando esta carta con mucho cariño y ojalá que te alivies pronto y que tengas un día bien bueno y que no te salgas de la cama. Nomás cuando te alivies entonces sí te puedes salir

de la cama y también ve a mirar un doctor y
que tomes medicina. Y yo te mando muchos sa-
ludos y también y yo estaba malo también y
me dieron medicina y me alivié y ahora estoy
en la escuela con mis amigos y la maestra.
Tu amigo,
Eddie

Dear Mr. G,
I am sending you this letter with much affec-
tion and I hope you get better fast and that
you have a really nice day and that you don't
get out of bed. Only when you get well then
you can get out of bed and also to see a doctor
and that you take medicine. And I am sending
you many greetings and also and I was sick too
and they gave me medicine and I got better and
now I'm in school with my friends and the
teacher.
Your friend,
Eddie

scolded a pen pal for not writing enough, asked for informa-
tion from the "birthday boy" addressee, the school principal
(¿cuánto cumpliste ahora?/how old are you now?) as well as
for information about details of his illness (see example
(12) earlier), inquired if a pen pal were going to wear lip-
stick, and instructed Santa Claus on the b way to deliver
a motorcycle to the writer, as in (22).

(22) Yo le voy a llevar esta carta a usted, Santa
Claus, para que me de una moto. Y la casa tiene
un cuartito y allí puede meter la moto para
que no batalle mucho metiéndolo por una venta-
na. Y mi casa es 13574. Gracias.

I am going to send this letter to you, Santa
Claus, so you'll give me a motorcycle. And
the house has a little room and you can put
the motorcycle there so you don't have to
struggle a lot putting it through a window.
And my house is 13574. Thank you.

Text Structure and Style

Stylistic devices, such as the use of full or elabo-

rated forms, opening and closing formulae, poetic mood setting, humor, metaphor, and a first person perspective in stories, along with temporally sequenced pieces also argue against a language deprivation position.

Many of the children arranged the events in their writing in an earlier-to-later order, tying the events with adverbs of time (anteayer, anoche, ahora/ day before yesterday, last night, now) or sequence (first, later), or with linked and "overlapped" phrases, as in (23).

(23) Yo una vez me fui a la tienda. De la tienda me voy a la escuela. Me voy a comer, de comer a jugar, de jugar me voy a dormir, de dormir me hago las cosas.

One time I went to the store. From the store I go to school. I go to eat; from eating to play; from playing I go to sleep, from sleeping I make things.

There are examples of genre-specific formulae in the samples. For instance, colorín colorado él que no se pare se queda pegado (untranslatable) appears at the end of a story; el fin (the end) or some variation ends many stories but no other genre; hoy es (today is ____) begins all first grade journal entries.

Some writers used metaphor (un dinosaurio puede a pisarte y te deja como una tortilla/ a dinosaur can step on you and leave you flat as a tortilla/pancake); after eating everything in sight, un hueso loco se hizo bien pansón como un globo/ a crazy bone became big-bellied like a balloon). Others tried to be funny or even outrageous. The just-mentioned gluttonous Crazy Bone, for instance, commented

at the end of the story that the furniture he had just devoured needed un poquito sal y pimienta/ (a little salt and pepper). Another child writing a story about a crazy bone allowed the bone to blow his nose on his mother--- a particularly flamboyant bit of mischief in this community where it is very important to be well-behaved and to respect one's elders. Of course the bone insists at the end that no más estaba jugando (he was only playing).

An occasional story was written from a first person perspective. There were also cases where a mood was established poetically or an ending was achieved with dramatic flair. As instances of the former, note the work of three first graders. In (24), the dialogue conveys the mood of urgency and concern. The description in (25), followed by an understated (and possibly ironic?) quotation from a radio weather report, captures the gloom and frustration of rainy, no-outside-recess school days. Example (26) has an almost poetic quality to the opening and closing lines.

(24) Hoy es jueves. 12 febrero 1981
El fantasma asustó a la muchachita y gritó muy recio y su papá se levantó y dijo,--¿Qué pasó mi hija? ¿Qué pasó? Dime. ¿Qué pasó? Dime. ¿Por qué mataron? Apurate, dime---andale.--

Today is Thursday. February 12, 1981
The ghost scared the little girl and she screamed very loud and her dad got up and said, "what happened my child? What happened? Tell me. What happened? Tell me. Why did they kill? Hurry, tell me, go on."

(25) Caía lluvia del cielo. Charcos en el piso.
Dijo las noticias del radio, el señor del radio,--Ya no va a llover--. Fin.

Rain was falling from the sky. Puddles on the floor. Said the news on the radio, the man on the radio, "It isn't going to rain anymore."

- (26) Todos los días cae nieve en todas las partes. Y también caía lluvia en todas las partes y un señor se robó y la policía iba. La policía agarró al señor y lo llevó a la cárcel y allí se estuvo todos los días. Era cuando estaba cayendo nieve.

Everyday snow falls everywhere. And also rain was coming down all over and a man robbed and the police came. The police caught the man and took him to jail and there he was all his days. It was when the snow was falling.

Elaborate endings (one might imagine hearing these read with the flourish of a swished cape) were particularly evident among the third grade samples. In a response to winning an attendance trophy, Ray wrote in English that the trophy would stay with us forevermore because we're coming every day, every day. And Veronica ended her story about having difficulty finding wormless nuts to eat with Entonces me fui a mi casa y cuando llegué 'sorpresa'. Había nueces por todos lados y comí hasta no llenarme y viví feliz como siempre. (Then I went home and when I arrived---surprise! There were nuts all around and I ate until I was stuffed and I lived happily ever after).

From the examples presented, and many more that will appear later but would over-tax space requirements here, it should be clear that these children were not deficient in syntax, in vocabulary, in a growing awareness of conventions of written language and of various textual and contextual demands. Their actual writing shows that they were not semi-

lingual (lacking in vocabulary, complex syntax, and ability to perform certain cognitive operations such as inferencing). If test scores or achievement in "systematic" piecemeal approaches to literacy depict them as semilingual, i.e., unable to handle abstract "cognitive language" tasks (Cummins, 1979:231), then it would seem wise to be suspicious of the concept of semilingualism/language deficiency as well as of an evaluation and educational system that prefers questionable substitutes (e.g., tests of written language) instead of the real events (e.g., writing).

Moreover, it should be possible to infer from the data presented here (though it will be more apparent in later chapters) that our young writers showed significant growth from first to third grade in their control over written language. Data to be presented will demonstrate that this growth came about through (or was at the very least accompanied by) a process of hypothesis construction, with the children simultaneously trying out multiple hypotheses during the press of an actual language event.

The data that come from these language-enabled (vs. language-deprived) children were produced under certain conditions: in a community with certain politico-socio-economic and language characteristics, served by a bilingual education program with a certain philosophy, with classrooms where teachers and aides carried out particular practices and had particular expectations regarding writing, by children with certain family educational histories. Further,

the raw data have been analyzed in certain ways by particular researchers, have yielded certain findings, and are being presented through a particular research perspective, governed by particular biases and assumptions. The following is a report of the particulars.

INTRODUCTION

Simply because there is a lack of research in some area does not mean that the lack must be remedied. There are probably no studies of shoe size among children in bilingual education and most likely, none are needed. But the absence of a body of research on the development of writing in bilingual elementary education is another matter. Such research would help foster understanding of the relationship between important aspects of L1 and L2 acquisition and use. It would expand our knowledge of some issues specific to bilinguals/biliterates, namely the extent and function of code-switching, the impact of having available two orthographic systems, etc. Data on children's writing would also help to answer questions concerning the language proficiency of some children enrolled in bilingual education (are they bilingual in two non-standard varieties? monolingual in a contact variety with recent origin in two codes?) Studies of writing in bilingual education might also be helpful to those interested in literacy in general, regardless of the number of languages involved. Processes in literacy acquisition, the relation between reading and writing, the effect of instruction on acquisition---all these issues and many others might be perceived in new ways if "special" population were examined; e.g., children becoming bilingual and biliterate.

There are some studies on aspects of the writing of other than Standard English speaking students in the United

States. Several researchers have investigated spelling, usually under test conditions (Stever, 1980; Temple, 1978; Cronnell, 1979), or vocabulary use (Carter & Cuscoe-Lanasa, 1978). Some have looked at "dialect" features or "interference" in the compositions of high school or college age students (Rubin, 1979; Mejías, 1978; Kushner & Poteet, 1973; García, 1975; Amastae, in press) or younger children (Klegman, 1973). A very few have inquired into some aspect of the process by or environment in which bilinguals and incipient bilinguals acquire the written language. Work by Anderson Teale, & Estrada (1980) focuses at least in part on naturalistic observations of the productive side of literacy, while the performance analysis on spelling done by Hudelson (n.d.) focused on process.

The usual manner, however, of investigating literacy in bilingual education (see Zappert & Cruz, 1977) is to limit literacy to reading, to operationalize reading as responses to some supposedly standardized test (see Labov, 1970b and Blumer, 1969 for a discussion of the fallacy of thinking uniform procedures and instruments provide standardized tasks), and to pool data from several classrooms, schools or even districts. (See Hudelson, 1981 and Dávila de Silva, 1978 for exceptions.) The typical approach to literacy in bilingual education is thus one that rarely if ever looks at writing, substitutes test responses for naturally occurring literacy-in-action, and strips away contexts (Mishler, 1979). This includes the pragmatic and sometimes syntactic contexts which contribute to the predictability of print.

2

With these contexts stripped away, so too is much of what is interesting about literacy acquisition and use. Such questions as what is a text from a child's perspective, what processes do beginning writers use, or how are language systems (written and oral) related have not even been asked, let alone answered, by research into "literacy" in bilingual education. The whole controversy over whether poetry or literature has different text characteristics than other forms of discourse (Pratt, 1977; Bright, 1981), indeed whether written and oral language are inherently different (Bright, 1981; Shuy, 1981), whether or how poetic vs. transactional vs. expressive functions (Britton, 1971) appear in the speech and writing of a variety of speech communities with varied linguistic repertoires, has bypassed researchers in bilingual education. The questions of text boundaries and of what makes a text a text, whether a text must be entirely in one channel (oral or written), whether it is a whole or whether it is "seamless" yet having periods of peak texture (Halliday, 1978)---these can not be well-treated by research that uses primarily standardized achievement test scores as data.

In fact, a host of interesting questions concerning literacy and writing especially, are rendered non-questions by the prevailing research paradigm on literacy in bilingual education. For instance, among the many faulty conceptions about writing ("Smith's Myths") that Frank Smith (1981, and in press) lists are some that deal with writing as a means

of learning to write. What are the limits of that position? Will writing under any circumstances suffice? Vygotsky's notion of inner speech touches both writing and young writers. He believed that writing requires an elaborate unpacking of the condensed meanings of inner speech (Elsasser & John-Steiner, 1977), that the route between inner speech and writing is a different one than that between verbal thought and communicative speech (John-Steiner, 1981). He also believed that young children were still experiencing the transition from external "egocentric" speech to inner speech (Vygotsky, 1962). If both of these ideas are correct, then what is the effect upon early writing of not-quite-fully internalized speech-to-self? Does the shift from writing as a second order to writing as a first order symbol system (Vygotsky, 1978), require a mature inner speech? Moreover, what is the relationship between coming to know the writing system as an object of knowledge (Ferreiro, 1980; 1981; Ferreiro & Teberosky, n.d.) and as a medium for transacting meanings? Is the characterization of the writing process as recursive and exploratory in the conceptualizations of Sommers (1979), Flower and Hayes (1980), Graves and Murray (n.d.), Applebee (1981), and Smith (1981) truly universal? That is, if even young children involved in "any instance of written language" are "orchestrating a complex social event" (Harste, 1980a) are they also recycling (Sommers, 1979), reviewing, using language to discover the meaning in their experience (Murray, 1978), as

older writers do? Or are there earlier and also later processes as well as strategies and skills (Shuy, 1977)? Answers to these and other questions about the nature and development of writing can hardly be obtained by studies in the traditional bilingual/literacy research paradigm.

Just as "standard" laboratory psychological research on cognition has done violence to the intended object of study (i.e., cognition), transforming it into a different object by virtue of the task/setting demands of laboratory research (Cole, n.d.), so the prevailing type of research on literacy in bilingual education, through its research methodology, alters the characteristics of the "literacy" it studies. In fact, Harste, Burke, and Woodward (in press) claim that studying print which has been made unpredictable and non-functional, as in most standardized achievement or laboratory tests of literacy, is to study something which is not literacy. Shuy (1974) and Amarel and Chittendon (1980) have each been critical of the use of reading test scores in inquiries about reading. Similarly, others argue that investigations of writing that depend on artificial units such as T-units or insensitive means of scoring (Perl, 1981), that merely examine single samples from any given writer, produced under test-like conditions (Donnelly and Stevens, 1980; Emig, in press), that look at pieces of rather than whole texts (Griffin, n.d.), that emphasize method and teacher rather than process and writer (Graves, 1980a) will not reveal much about the nature and development

of writing. In other words, we are not alone in our criticism of several characteristics of the "usual" research into literacy in bilingual education.

By looking instead at particular cases (single settings, single writers) as Calkins (n.d.) and Kamler (1980) have in their sensitive accounts of development of revision, it should be more possible to see if one's "entry" theories are universal (i.e., can they account for the single case (Harste, 1980a)) and also to make certain that "emergent" theories or proposals are well-grounded.

While there is not exactly a stampede to do the kind of research in monolingual education that would answer the critics of the literacy-reading-reading test scores approach, there is nevertheless a growing body of research on monolinguals' writing that has already proven to be illuminating. True, there are studies of aspects of monolingual writing based on single-shot test performances, but even some of these (Zutell, 1980; Henderson, 1980; Beers & Beers, 1980) used analyses informed by a "process" perspective. The writing research that seems most exciting, however, has not used data from test settings, has not tried to investigate written language solely from the researcher's perspective, has not aimed at prediction, has not collapsed settings. Rather, it might be characterized as naturalistic, guided by broad questions rather than narrow hypotheses, committed to describing contexts in which the writing occurs. The work summarized by Whiteman (1980) and conducted by Bissex (1980),

Birnbaum (1980), Calkins (1980), Collins & Michaels (n.d.), Ferreriro (1980), Giacobbe (n.d.), Graves (1979a), King and Rentel (1980), Paul (1976), Read (1971), Shafer (n.d.), and Sowers (1979) are examples.

There are, unfortunately, no studies of writing development conducted in bilingual programs that are comparable to any of these. The present study was thus undertaken to fill a set of definite and related needs. One need was to begin to provide a non-test-score data base on writing (a key part of literacy) in bilingual education. Others were to expand people's notions about what constitutes literacy in bilingual education, to use data that were more authentic (i.e., were closer to the process being investigated than are one-time, on-demand writing samples (Emig, in press)), and to start to build up information about literacy issues peculiar to biliteracy programs (e.g., written code switching, interactions between the two written systems, etc.).

It must be emphasized that the present study was not intended to be about all writing development in all of bilingual education. Rather, it is a study of writing in one bilingual program---and in only particular classrooms within that program at that. Just as literacy research in bilingual education has suffered from a dependence on test score data, so have its findings been unevenly useful due to research designs that pool data from different programs. Clearly, generalizability is at issue here, though it might just as well be called extrinsic adequacy (Guba, 1978),

Underlying the practice of pooling data is an assumption that a single variable (e.g., language of instruction) can be so powerful that it is "uncontaminated" by the myriad of other variables interacting with it at a given time and place (Denenberg, 1979). Thus, this practice assumes that it is possible to have a main effect due solely to language of instruction, or whatever variable is designated as the one common to several disparate sources of data. This idea has been subjected to careful criticism in a discussion of the errors in borrowing designs from animal studies (where genetic history and developmental environment can be controlled) for studies of human development (Denenberg, 1979). Research that attempts to keep data pooling to a minimum (it is impossible to seek patterns and not collapse data at all) also maintains an underlying assumption: that human processes and behavior occur in systems of embedded environments where "the main effect is in the interactions" (Cole, 1979). From this perspective, the goal of generalizability has been shifted to one of careful description so that findings are extrinsically adequate (Guba, 1978), a shift that makes site-combining an anathema.

Many years of day-to-day work in classrooms convinced us of the need to understand individual ecological systems of interacting variables in order to gain insight into a more general process or phenomenon. Moreover, theoretical perspectives from naturalistic and ethnographic research in education (see Erickson, 1977; Rist, 1977; McDermott, 1977;

Ogbu, 1981; Mehan, 1978; Harste & Burke, 1977) gave backbone to our practice-based inclinations.

From the outset, therefore, we tended¹ toward the latter position on pooling data and, by implication, on generalizability. We took the view that if writing is a language-related process, then it should share certain characteristics with language. That is, with Vygotsky and language-society interactionists (John-Steiner, 1981) we assumed that writing (like language) should be socially embedded; writing development should occur through interaction; in a system which includes the child and the environment provided by adults, peers, and the socio-historical moment; and the acquirer of writing should be an active participant in that interaction. This is also a sociolinguistic stance in the most profound sense---that language (in this case, writing) is always social and that the social must be described and understood in order for the language description to make sense (a point Dell Hymes made years ago).

To review: the total absence of any research on writing development in bilingual education created the need for a study of that topic. The demands of the task and the topic (conducting a beginning investigation of growth in a language process that is social, functional, intentional, etc.) created a need for a research approach that would be more fluid than the usual and not dependent on test data. And the knowledge that language and literacy are context-embedded created the need for a study of writing in one context,

one bilingual program that could be well described.

Fortunately, a nearby bilingual program emphasized writing in its literacy instruction. In fact, as the only bilingual education program nearby where any significant quantity of writing occurred and was available for study, this program was the obvious choice for a research site. Unfortunately, for both many program personnel (who suffered enormous drains on emotional energy and time) and for our research design, this bilingual program's very existence was being threatened in Spring, 1980 by its school board.² Since we had already seen interesting and high quality writing from this program, since we knew there was a need for study of writing in bilingual education, since a bilingual program that emphasized writing is a rare commodity indeed, and since we were afraid this one program might not exist much longer, we felt a special urgency to document and examine what we could before time ran out. Therefore, we did not plan a study that matched our ideal---one where we would have investigated a few children's development over at least a three year period and where we would have analyzed both writing samples and the minute-to-minute child-child and child-adult interactions that surround and often weave through the writing act. Instead we planned a one-year study (we knew the program would be allowed to continue at least through June, 1981). Because at the time of planning we saw no way to pay for the labor-intensive work of very frequent classroom observations and because we were in a justifiable hurry to begin the study,

we elected to analyze the writing produced during the 1980/81 school year (and infer the process) rather than analyze observations of the writing act itself and its attendant interactions. Thus, rather than having our "druthers", we planned for second best, but not without reason. (Just as it is necessary to understand the context of a writing sample, it is also necessary to understand the context of a plan for a research study!)

Assumptions

The study as conceived began with a perspective on rather than a definition of writing and of text and also a set of assumptions. The perspective on writing was that it is a complex, recursive, cognitive and social process. It might be thought of as an orchestration of multiple cuing systems to produce a text or partial text which functions pragmatically in a situational context, according to Harste (1980a). It might be viewed as a set of recursive thinking processes orchestrated by a writer during the act of composing, according to Flower and Hayes (1980). For Smith (1982) in press) it is a juggling and meshing of global and local intentions with global and local conventions during the construction and exploration of possible worlds. One might conceive of writing as a second order and then later a first order means of translating the condensed meanings of inner speech, as Vygotsky did (1978). Our perspective was a composite of these views. In any case, we did not think of writing as occurring in a linear sequence of think-tran-

scribe-review or pre-write-write-revise.

Of course writing is also a shorthand term for both a product and a system; i.e., a piece of writing and the writing system. Though both the piece and the system make use of visual symbols, the cues for interpreting either do not reside totally within those symbols (Harste, Burke, & Woodward, in press)---and it is just the multimodality of the cues that allow both piece and system to be social and cultural (rather than merely psychological or linguistic) objects. To appreciate the complexity of process, piece, or system then, one must remind oneself of the following: all three involve inter-related graphic, linguistic, cognitive and social features.

As for the term text, we began by using it synonymously with sample, piece, and written product. Most simply, this was for the purpose of having a larger repertoire of terms with which to refer to the objects being studied. In Halliday and Hasan's discussion (1976), a text is a semantic unit, oral or written, that is related as a whole to (is coherent with) the environment it is in and that is coherent with respect to itself. According to Halliday (1978), a text is an instance of social meaning in a particular context of situation. Halliday and Hasan (1976) also mention that people insist on interpreting any passage of language-in-use as though it were a text (coherent in both ways). Thus, with our written data most likely to be imputed at least to be texts, and backed by what was probably a misinterpreta-

tion of Halliday and Hasan's (1976) broad definition of text, we began to call each sample a text.

Despite the authoritative references then, the use of the term text, as synonymous with piece or sample in this report is certainly imprecise and belies the understanding gained from working with the data. This will be presented more fully in later sections, but briefly, from the use herein, calling a piece a text implies that the piece of paper provided a text boundary and that the texts were either written or oral. In fact, many of the texts certainly exceeded the borders of the page, most likely consisted of both oral and written language, and were composed by more than one participant. To be consistent with our own understanding, then, I should refer to at least some of the writing as partial or even non-texts. Because it is difficult to be certain of which pieces should be so designated (though inferences will be made in this regard, greater certainty in labeling would require having been present at the time of the writing), text will most often be used casually to refer to any writing sample in the collection. When text-ness becomes the focus, the meaning will tighten.

Our assumptions were as follows:

In order to understand the development of writing in school, we have to find a school where children write.

From our experience of observing and talking with teachers in numerous bilingual programs in Arizona, Florida, and Texas, it seems that writing is a rare event in bilingual

classrooms. To be sure, children fill in blanks, answer questions in writing on basal readers and other textbook selections, and put weekly spelling words in sentences or stories. But the bilingual program at our study site is the only one we knew of in Maricopa County in 1980, at least, where it was a daily event for children to create their own "possible worlds" in writing. Not only is it necessary to find school writing in order to study it, but one should try to find a site that supports writing---a place where the school or classroom climate not only assigns but nourishes writing. Graves (1980b) has remarked on the importance of the choice of site in studying the developing writing process. (The "climate" in the site of our choice and the efforts to establish it will be discussed in chapter 3.)

Examining piece(s), process, or system reveals something about the nature of piece, process, and system.

While Harste (1980a) is right to a great extent about the process and the event being crucial to an understanding of a given piece, his claim is exaggerated that a written piece without an accompanying observation of the production of that particular piece is as totally worthless as an archeological artifact without the surrounding soil. Just as a written text may be accessed through other cuing systems besides the graphophonic (Goodman, 1977), so the writing process or a writing system can be at least somewhat revealed by data other than the monitoring of that process or examination of the total system in the abstract.

Comparisons of single pieces by the same writer, if written in different languages or for different purposes/audiences, should allow one to make inferences about the saliency of different aspects of the two written systems or to support or counter claims about the process (e.g., that writers have mid-level (genre) intentions that affect their choice of more local conventions (Smith, 1981)).

To understand the product, we have to know the context.

Despite the immediately preceding "defense" for not having designed an observational study of pieces-in-the-making, we would still agree with Harste (1980a) about the need to know what was happening at the time in order to understand a piece of writing. "What was happening" is of course vague as to both time and space. The assumption is that the broader those time/space boundaries (the more information we have about contexts), the more sensible will be the interpretations of the data. And we wanted very much to have our findings make sense--to be understandable and believable. Much educational research collapses settings, pools data, and lacks careful descriptions of contexts. Thus, although it purports to make statements about people, teaching, learning, etc., it actually makes statements about populations, treatments, and outcomes. On the one hand, this lends such research an aura of "hard science", objectivity, and prestige. But on the other hand, it makes the research artificial, often uninterpretable, and in the end discountable. That is not the fate we wanted for this

study. Therefore, assuming the inextricable interweaving of language (writing, in this case) and context, we planned a study that would collect data from only one program, that would describe that program and the individual classrooms where the writing occurred.

We conceived of "context" as teachers' and aides' beliefs and planned classroom writing activities, program philosophy, administrative attitudes, socio-politico-economic conditions in the community, parental attitudes toward the program, school histories of the children's older siblings, and the language situation of the community.

While non-static, some of these contexts, embedded in others, change more noticeably and over shorter time spans than others. For instance, variation in classroom activities and conditions for writing are obvious to even the casual observer watching a class for one day. By comparison, the political situation in the community and the pressures exerted by policy-making bodies on programs and classroom events seem much more stable/static. Still, all the contexts change---and we assume that those changes have direct or tortuously indirect impact on the development of writing as well as the writing of particular pieces. Thus, when Bereiter (1979) claims that studies of language use (such as Labov's in Harlem) often take the "best performance" as the norm and explain away the rest through various kinds of bias, he is misinterpreting the intent (though perhaps not the impact) of Labov's work. More importantly here,

he is opting for the existence of one "essence" that remains after the situation is removed, a kind of language use that is not interwoven with context. At base, he is rejecting the very sociolinguistic orientation we are assuming---that language-in-use, including writing, is inseparable from/ bears the marks of/depends upon/etc. its contexts of production. It is, of course, not only Bereiter who rejects this perspective. Producers of single-shot tests of writing and supporters of uniform, low-level, sequenced writing objectives also implicitly deny the context/language mesh. In contrast, we have assumed it.

Children are hypotheses creators.

Whether in relation to first language acquisition (Lindfors, 1980; Peters, 1980), second language acquisition (Hatch, 1978; Fillmore, 1976), early reading (Clay, 1969; Ferreiro, 1978; Barrera, 1981; Goodman, Goodman & Flores, 1979), mature reading (Smith, 1978), or beginning writing in English (Graves, 1979a; Clay, 1975; DeFord, 1980; Harste & Burke, 1980), language users reinvent rather than "copy" the psycho-socio-linguistic systems they use. Many of the hypotheses with which they operate can be inferred from the texts (oral or written) that they produce. It is especially the "errors" and the contextually-related variations in production which act as windows through which we can glimpse these internal and tacit hypotheses.

There is some relationship between the development of writing in one language and in another.

We know that under certain conditions, such as receiving literacy instruction in the first language before second language literacy instruction begins, reading test scores in the L2 are higher than they are under the condition of no L1 literacy instruction (Rosier & Farella, 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976). Data from tests in immersion programs indicate that at least reading test performance, if not actual reading ability, in the L1 is not adversely affected by reading instruction in the L2 (Cummins, 1979). Investigations of the reading process during actual reading show that process to be the same regardless of the language in which one is reading (Flores, 1981, in press). In other words, if there is a close relation between reading across languages, most likely, there is some connection between writing in one language and writing in another. Writing is important educationally and worthy of study.

There has been a history of artificial separation of writing from reading, yet both are part of literacy. Even more than both being "part of", writing and reading depend on and enhance each other (Smith, 1981; Moffett & Wagner, 1976). It is largely through wide reading that one is exposed to a variety of writing conventions and through extensive writing that one comes to understand an author's perspective and problems when one is reading. Further, writing functions as much to help the writer understand and explore various ideas as it does to communicate those ideas to a reader (Smith, 1981). In other words, writing changes

the writer, helps the writer grow conceptually and expressively. Thus it can be a crucial tool in achieving educational goals.

The Study

With these assumptions, the plan was to study the writing of nine first, nine second, and nine third graders who were attending a unique bilingual program in northwest Phoenix (the program will be described in chapter 3). The intent was to collect the children's writing at four times during the 1980/81 school year. The four collections, providing the writing data, would be analyzed in regard to several aspects (code-switching; spelling; punctuation and segmentation; structural features; stylistic devices; and subjectively perceived qualities of the content). Classroom observations, interviews, a District-funded language situation survey, District records, and our participation in the District in various capacities over the preceding six years would provide the data for context description.

Three broad research questions were to guide the endeavor:

- 1) What happens over time and at any one point in time in relation to several aspects of the children's writing; i.e., their spelling inventions, the structure of their writing (beginning and endings, organizational principles, links between propositions, etc.), their hypotheses concerning segmentation and punctuation, their use of code-switching in writing, stylistic devices and content

features (characters, settings, etc.), and our subjective impressions of attributes of quality in the content?

2) How is writing in Spanish related to writing in English?

3) From the spotlight that biliteracy beams on literacy, in general, what can we learn about various issues related to literacy and literacy instruction (e.g., appropriate sequences in Language Arts, the relationship of literacy learning and teaching, etc.)?

We had several purposes in conducting this research. First, as discussed earlier, we wanted to provide baseline data on writing in bilingual education, an area that had been previously almost completely non-researched. It was our hope that through a blend of context descriptions and writing data, these beginning findings would help both practitioners and researchers. Second, new questions would most likely arise out of such an open-ended study. We hoped these questions would be useful in planning future research. And third, we wanted to record a rare occurrence in the recent history of bilingual education in the United States---one we feared would be stopped all too soon (because its host program was under siege). The use of writing, especially with poor children (who are often assumed to be incapable of benefiting from such a loosely structured educational activity as writing), as a key component in language and literacy development is unusual among bilingual programs. It seemed important to document one of these efforts.

Notes

¹ I say tended toward this position because when we began the study, we still thought writing development happened in a circle of contexts. We now believe, with the Vygotskian interactionists, that it occurs through those contexts, that there is no context-free writing development.

² This chapter in the District Bilingual Program story has a happy ending. It will be told in chapter 3 which deals with contexts.

METHODOLOGY

The present study officially began in the Fall of 1980 with a core research staff of three. "Officially" is used to contrast with what seems to be a more accurate but difficult-to-describe characterization of this project's beginning. That is, when prior knowledge of specific children and contexts is considered and when current events were interpreted with a filling-in of known past history, then in some sense, this research project began in 1975.

The original core research staff of three had varying degrees of, but still extensive, knowledge of different circles of context. Since 1977, Sarah Hudelson and I had conducted workshops, in-service training, and on-site courses for teachers and aides who worked in this program. The third member of the original core is the Director of the Program, a post she has held since 1977.¹ She has worked in the District since 1975. It is obvious then that as kinds of data and means of gathering them are discussed, the discussion must be incomplete. For instance, the core threesome were hardly newcomers during classroom observations. Moreover, some of our information on circles of context, especially that dealing with the relationships among the sub-communities that comprise "the community" comes from incidents and interactions which began prior to this research study year. We were privy to this information because we were involved, in non-research ways, in the

District at the time. In other words, the reader should not get the wrong impression. We have not gathered all the data for this study during the 1980/1981 school year. Some of it comes from and all of it is enhanced by a long history of interactions in the District. It is almost as though we had been participants prior to September, 1981, at which point we became participant-observers on a small scale. (This implies the distinction between the total involvement of the participant and the involvement/detachment of the participant-observer (Wolcott, 1981).)

CHOOSING THE SUBJECTS TO FOLLOW OVER THE 1980/81 SCHOOL YEAR

First, in order to be consistent with a wish to situate the data, we decided to choose subjects from a single classroom at each grade level rather than from the grade level at large. (It was more convenient to describe only three classrooms.) The choice of the three classrooms from among the four first grades, four second grades, and three third grades in the bilingual program was based on what we believed at the time about the relative quality of teaching and the teachers' attitudes toward and beliefs about writing in school. Random selection or representativeness was not the aim. Rather, if one goal of the study was to look at change or growth, the important thing was to choose classrooms within this program which would be the most likely sites for such growth to occur. (Little did we realize then that it would have been possible to see development---and how development interacts with context--

just as clearly but from a different angle if we had chosen classrooms at random, chosen more of them, and noted both the ways in which the children's growth in writing provided information about classroom adults' views on and approaches to school writing and the ways those views and approaches were affected by the writing the children did.)

In order to select the nine subjects per grade, all the writing done the first week of school in September was collected from the three "chosen" classrooms. The core threesome then separately and subjectively evaluated each child, one grade at a time, considering both the quality of the content and use of written conventions. We rated each child as a high, medium, or low writer for that classroom/grade.

Since the first graders only wrote their names and strings of letters or numbers that first week, first grade ratings accounted for well-formedness of letters, directionality, and orientation to the lines on the paper. With content included, second grade writing was rated on the basis of use of unusual vocabulary, any sign of accounting for the audience, letter formation, and spelling conventionality. Third grade writing was judged according to originality of ideas, length, variation in syntactic constructions, letter formation, spelling conventionality, and punctuation. These bases were not decided upon in advance. Rather, they are cited here as the factors we

believe went into our separate decisions to categorize a child as a good or a poor writer based on the collection of writing that was presented to us. Children were also rated relative to the other children in the class. It is conceivable that some rated as "high" (or as medium or as low) would not have been seen as such good writers had they been compared with different children.

After the separate ratings, we then chose three relatively high children per grade, three medium, and three low writers who had each received identical ratings from the core threesome. The choice of high, medium, and low was not guided by an intention to compare highs with lows, but rather to make it more likely for the subjects to represent a range of abilities and a variety of growth patterns.

After several months, we lost one third grade "low" subject, who moved out of the District, and we discovered to our dismay that the other third grade "lows" could not really be considered bona fide third grade participants in the bilingual program. They had just arrived from Mexico at the beginning of the year and thus they had not been enrolled in this program throughout their school careers, as had the other subjects chosen. Moreover, school records, conversations with teachers, and a reconsideration of the writing from the first week engendered the strong suspicion that these two boys had attended school infrequently in their rural birthplace. (In fact, the estimate was that the older, who was 11 years, 2 months in September, 1980,

had probably attended school for a lifetime total of 12-20 months.) When this was discovered, a new "grade" was created in this research study for these two children--- grade X. It seemed more reasonable to consider them as a separate case than as regular third graders. Thus the subjects whose writing was collected throughout the year appear in Table 1.

Table 1

Subjects

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Rating</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Age in Sept, 1980</u>	<u>Sex</u>
1	Hi	Ro	6;9	F
		Se	7;3	M
		Ch	6;5	F
	Med	Ma	6;8	F
		Ro	6;3	M
		Jo.A.	6;10	M
	Lo	Vi	6;10	F
		Ge	7;3	M
		Lu	7;2	M
		Pe	9;2	F
2	Hi	Ed	7;9	M
		Ma.C.	8;9	M
		Ro.C.	7;1	F
	Med	Fr	8;7	M
		Au	8;8	M
		Jo	7;1	M
	Lo	Ma.A.	7;5	M
		Mo	8;0	M
		Ve	8;11	F
		Ra	10;2	M
3	Hi	Ju	9;4	F
		Ma.I.	10;8	M
		Ye	8;1	F
	Med	Je	9;9	M
		Da	9;9	M
X		Ma.S.	11;2	M

Table 2 provides a summary.

Table 2

Summary of Subjects

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Rating</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Mean Age in Sept.</u>	<u>Age Range</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
1	Hi	3	6;10	6;5-7;3	1	2
	Med	3	6;7	6;3-6;10	2	1
	Lo	3	7;1	6;10-7;3	2	1
	Total	9	6;10	6;3-7;3	5	4
2	Hi	3	8;7	7;9-9;2	2	1
	Med	3	8;1	7;1-8;8	2	1
	Lo	3	7;6	7;1-8;0	3	0
	Total	9	8;1	7;1-9;2	7	2
3	Hi	3	9;6	8;11-10;2	1	2
	Med	3	9;6	8;1-10;8	2	1
	Total	6	9;6	8;1-10;8	3	3
X	Total	2	10;5	9;9-11;2	2	0

KINDS OF DATA GATHERED

Writing

We defined writing as anything a teacher gave us that she considered to be a child's writing. Graves' (1975) definition, requiring the piece to be at least a sentence in length, while popular, was not used here for two reasons. First, we wanted to be able to include as data the repetitions of names from the first week. More importantly, we took the position that social facts are constructed, that if teachers considered strings of letters and numbers to be writing, they would treat it as such---compare it to later writing, evaluate it, etc. It seemed sensible to use the teachers' category.

Writing from the first week of school, used for selecting the subjects, became the first of four collections. Teachers were then asked to save all the writing

these children did during the fourth week of November, the second week of February, and the first week of April. Because they wanted to include pieces they thought would present a child in a good light, the teachers actually delivered writing saved over a three week rather than a one week period. Occasionally, we succumbed to the same wish and did not discard, for instance, a rare piece of unsigned writing that was produced 10 days prior to our collection date. The collections yielded a total of 556 pieces.

Preparing the writing for analysis consisted of tracing over light pencil marks so they could be reproduced, coding each piece for subject number, collection number, and piece number, photo-reducing most of the pieces (primary grade children are given oversized writing paper), duplicating each piece so that each research team member (there were 13) could have a set for analysis, and "re-writing" each piece.

This last activity was one of putting each piece into conventional spelling, spacing, and punctuation. The re-writes were kept separate from the original pieces and were used in the investigation of several aspects of the writing. For example, to analyze invented spellings, one must know what word was intended, and to evaluate the quality of the content alone one should not be distracted by messiness or unconventional forms. In addition, deciphering some of the writing was so problematic, especially the first grade writing, that it was necessary to have a constant rendition of it so that the various researchers would indeed be analyzing

the same texts.

When the re-writing was undertaken, it was seen at first as a quick and mechanical task not much more complicated than tracing over and darkening the children's light pencil marks. In actuality, the process of deciphering semantic and syntactic encodings in the child author's absence was anything but mechanical. It required, from the most generous and synpathetic of adult readers, the use of cues from letter formation, syntax, sense of genre, knowledge of topic, knowledge of the class assignment if there was one, comparisons with other texts written by the same child on different days and pieces written by different children on the same day. A crucial requirement, of course, was the assumption that the pieces of writing were sensible. Those who had a hand in the re-writing were the children's teachers and aides and members of the research team. Little did we expect that some pieces would have to be re-written several times before we arrived at the stage of "Oh, of course! That's what that says!" or that on the umpteenth re-reading, a string of letters might suggest a new and better interpretation.

Not quite six percent of the pieces were eliminated from further analysis due to our inability to decipher them. One possible profile of the total collection that was re-written and kept for analysis is shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Number of Pieces Analyzed

<u>Collection</u>	<u>Grade</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>X</u>	
1	9	24	19	3	55
2	57	61	28	17	163
3	78	33	32	11	154
4	45	71	30	6	152
Total	189	189	109	37	524

Pieces of writing were also obtained from other primary grade classrooms in this District's bilingual program. There was no systematicity to this collection, however. Sometimes samples were requested for particular purposes; other times, a piece would be "donated" because an adult was especially impressed by one of its features.

Classroom Observations

There were two kinds of classroom observations, divided by extent. In the one that was to produce a categorization of the print environments, the intention was to be exhaustive---to observe and record the print available, its type and function, until all the print in that classroom had been thus described. Print environment observations were only made in the three study classrooms. Each of these classrooms were observed on three different occasions for one-half day each. The observer (this was the same person for all of these observations) catalogued all print in the classroom by type (work-books, reference books, etc.). Then the function of the print was noted (e.g., to encourage an awareness of print in everyday life, to promote the idea that print is functional, etc.).

The other kind of observation was meant to sample rather than to be exhaustive. Both the three study classrooms and non-study bilingual program classrooms were observed for at least two whole days by two to three different observers. The purposes of these observations were to note oral code switching (inter- vs. intra-sentential, by whom to whom, on what topics, etc.) for comparison with written code switching, to observe children in the act of writing, and to record the kind of language information adults gave children when they interacted about literacy (i.e., does the adult focus the child on graphophonics? on syntax? etc.). As a follow-up to the print environment observations, these observers were also to note the language of the print the children actually used (e.g., the language of the posters they looked at vs. those hanging in the room, the language of the library books they read or thumbed through, etc.)

Teacher/Aide Interviews

In the Spring, each teacher and aide was interviewed separately for her perceptions of various aspects of her own writing program, of herself as a teacher of writing, and of how she characterized her reading program. Although the topics of the questions were the same in each interview, there was no set wording. Thus the gist of each question appears in Table 4.

Table 4

Questions in Reading/Writing Interview

1. When does writing occur in your classroom? (Talk about time, what counts as "writing".)
2. What is the writing time like?
3. What benefits do you expect from doing writing in school?
4. What changes do you expect to see in the writing over the course of the year?
5. What relationships do you see between writing in the L1 and writing in the L2?
6. Do children have to complete their writing? When? Which pieces?
7. What do you consider good/bad writing?
8. How are the journals done? the invented stories? Where do the topics come from?
9. What material is used in your reading program?
10. How much time do you devote to reading?
11. When and from what material do you read aloud to the children?
12. What other reading do the children do in Spanish?

Information About the Children

Because it seems likely that a child's family's educational history affects expectations and interpretations of school life on the part of the child, her primary caregivers, teachers, etc., we interviewed family members to find out what had happened to the children's older siblings. We also checked school records to find how many of our subjects and their siblings had been referred for special educations work-ups, to obtain Bilingual Syntax Measure

scores, California Achievement Test scores for our subjects and their older siblings, attendance records, a parental self-report on our subjects' first language, and any indication that the parent was extremely limited in literacy (such as signing a school registration card with an X).

Data on the General Community

Results of a language situation survey, conducted by an anthropologist hired by the bilingual program, were made available. That survey included interviews with over 100 families and both in-the-home and community observations (in the fields, at stores, community centers, and other meeting places). The interview schedule asked questions concerning language attitudes, channel and domains of language use, and attitudes about language maintenance or language shift.

The District Bilingual Program Office had Arizona State Department of Economic Security figures on income, ethnicity, and unemployment for families of elementary school children in the District.

Both local newspaper accounts and our own participation over the years in the District allowed inferences about community attitudes toward the bilingual program. The president of the Parent Advisory Council, who happened to be the secretary for the Bilingual Program Office was a key informant. The fact that one of the research team members was both Bilingual Program Director and researcher made her an invaluable informant as she was quite conscious of

local and state administrative behavior toward this program.

As Director, she was aware (often painfully) of the demands placed on the program by other administrative units---

demands that sometimes conflicted with this Bilingual

Program's aims and philosophy. As researcher, she was able to use this information to help construct the description of the contexts.

The various kinds of data, use of data, etc. are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5

Summary of Types of Methods and Data

Type of Method	Type of Data	Sources of Data	Collection Time	Purpose/Use
category emergence through coding trials	in-class writing	3 study classrooms, 9Sa per 1st & 2nd grades, 8 in 3rd.	Sept., Nov/Dec., Feb., April	to present developmental picture of 6 aspects of writing
coding, using categories				
keeping running lists				
running lists	in-class writing	other primary grade classrooms in BL program		to highlight relation between context and writing.
observation	field notes, map of location of materials, list of materials	3 study classrooms	March-May	to describe print environment
Participant-observation	field notes	3 study classrooms, 3 others in BL program	April-May	to describe oral code-switching, print used by children, activity during writing
Structured interview in school	responses on audio tapes, field notes	3 teachers/ aides from study classrooms	April	to present self-reported T/A's beliefs about writing, their writing and reading programs.
structured interview in home	field notes	5s family members	April	to provide information on older siblings' school completion
record/report collecting	test scores, attendance records, school registration forms filled out by parents, State Dept. records, language situation survey	District records concerned the 26 5s; others concerned the entire community	May	to describe children's & older siblings' educational histories, language situation in community, socio-economic situation in community
Participation	anecdotal notes (written after the event)	researchers' memories of School Board meeting, Parent Advisory Council meetings, interactions with others administrators, consultantship & interactions with District personnel over several years	March-June	to describe relation of BL program, administration, and community

ANALYZING THE DATA

The Writing Data

The four collections of writing were analyzed in several ways:

- 1) they were coded for computer tallying according to various categories within six aspects; 2) they were viewed more impressionistically to trigger hunches about the nature and development of writing; and 3) they were catalogued as counter-examples to various myths.

Coding for computer tallying was the responsibility of separate research teams. An a prior decision had been made to analyze certain aspects of the writing. These aspects were: 1) code switching; 2) spelling inventions; 3) non-spelling conventions such as segmentation and punctuation; 4) stylistic devices; 5) an assortment of structural and content features, such as links between clauses, beginnings, endings, etc.; and 6) quality of the content. Each research team thus had a single focus of attention (i.e., one team was responsible for investigating code-switching, another for spelling, etc.).

A teams' first responsibility regarding coding for the computer was for members to immerse themselves in the data (decipher the writing, sort and re-sort it, "play" with categories, etc.) so that the data might suggest the categories to be used.

The team responsible for coding qualities of the content operated in a slightly different way. Methods of

holistic rating that assume children have been given a common prompt/task were obviously inappropriate for these data. Similarly, holistic rating that allowed spelling, punctuation, etc. to enter into the rating decisions seemed unwise since those areas were being treated extensively by other research team members. Therefore, the quality-of-content team did not make use of established schemes for rating, such as are described in Gottesman and Schilling (1979) and Humes (1980). Instead, they devised a way to look only at content and a common means for rating dissimilar genres from different grades at different times of the year. Three hired raters, instructed and supervised by researchers were presented with only the re-written versions of the children's writing. The raters were instructed to generate an individual list of positive attributes that described a piece of writing. (Attributes only needed to be listed once, so that if the second piece seemed to be original but "originality" had already been entered on the list, the rater did not enter "originality" again.) The writing was read in "layers", i.e., three first, three second, and three third graders' writing was read first, then three more first, three more second, etc. The purpose of staggering the reading rather than having people read all first graders' work first, for instance, was to help raters see a broader range of attributes at the start so these would serve as a frame of reference for the subsequent samples. The three raters' lists of attributes

were then collapsed into one master list of 10 categories whose meanings had appeared under various labels on each list. The 10 shared categories (which will appear at the end of Table 6) were then "taught" to the raters. That is, group discussions were held among the three raters and the research team to attempt to attain some uniformity of meaning for category labels such as "originality", "coherence", etc. Training sessions were also held during which raters and researchers made public ratings, using the 10 categories, of other pieces of children's writing. The 10 categories were then used to assess each piece of writing in the official collection.

All the categories, within all six aspects, that emerged during this process, along with a prime example of each, appear in Table 6. Because of the length of the table several extensive comments which should really be footnotes to specific items in the table will be presented first so that they are not lost or skimmed over.

First, it should be noted that since most of these categories resulted from, rather than preceded, the initial analyses, they are both findings and method. (Perhaps the clearest examples are the unconventional segmentation categories which are intriguing findings because they seem to reveal something about children's syntactic categorizations.) As part of the methodology, once the categories were derived, they were applied systematically to each piece of writing. As part of the findings, they may be

peculiar to these data. Since it was these data which suggested the categories, other data might well have suggested different ones.

The second "footnote" comment is that since 94% of these pieces of writing were assigned, Type (or genre) was designated primarily on the basis of interviews with the teacher and aide concerning what assignment had elicited the piece. That is, on the rare occasion of conflict between attributes of the piece and the teacher's report of what the assignment had been (e.g., the teacher's instruction had been to write a letter telling the Director about the Creek Indians and the child's piece seemed instead to be an expository report), the piece was coded according to the assignment (in this case, an informing letter). Only when the form was overwhelmingly specific to one genre (such as formulaic beginning and ending for a story, despite an assignment of a letter) did the features of the child's writing outweigh the teacher's assignment as the basis for categorizing the piece. It should be emphasized that conflicts between style/form and assignment occurred rarely. When there were conflicts, the child's resistance was noted anecdotally for other purposes to be described later.

The reason for granting more weight in the computer coding to the teacher's assignment than to the features of the writing was that absence of letterness in response to instructions to write a letter, for example, could mean that the child had not yet learned conventions for

letter openings or closings. If that piece had been coded as "expository report" instead of "letter", there would have been less chance of noting changes in letter-writing. (Sub-types under Journal, Letter, etc. often allowed for an indication that the child had used the time allotted for making journal entries, for instance, to do a kind of writing in her journal that did not match journal format, such as trying out different styles of writing numerals.)

A theoretical justification for using the teacher's assignment to determine the type is found in an intriguing discussion by Pratt (1977). She argues that intertwined social conventions, appropriateness conditions, and expectations rather than textual properties are what make a piece of writing "literature"; that

"the essence of literariness or poeticality can be said to reside not in the messages but in a particular disposition of speaker and audience with regard to the message, one that is characteristic of the literary speech situation." (p. 87)

Substituting "story" or "letter" or "journal entry" (or any of the other types teachers assigned) for "literature" or "poetry" in the question of how to designate a piece of writing, it seems that the same claim can be made. That is, in a "context-dependent linguistics" (Pratt, 1977), the way a piece of classroom writing is treated (e.g., is it received as an appropriate response to an assignment) might well determine its type designation.

The third advance comment is that a piece could be coded several times in relation to some headings. For

instance, pieces could have more than one category entered under such headings as word class of code switching, character, setting, beginning, signalling knowledge of an intended reader, etc.

Fourth, it happened frequently that coding required knowledge of some contextual circle. For instance, one child responded to an assignment to describe what he did over the week-end by writing that his three day's of work in the onion fields had earned him enough money to go to the "dogs" to buy a bike. To accept "dogs" as a synonym for flea market rather than code it as unusual vocabulary required knowledge of the community (the flea market is held at the greyhound racetrack) and its labeling norms. To code his explanation for why he worked only three days (there is no field work done on Sundays) as "signals knowledge that there is a reader by clarifying an earlier statement", one must know that the assignment had been to report on a four-day rather than a regular week-end and that the child knew that the teacher was an outsider to the community and might not be expected to know the field schedule.

The fifth and final pre-table comment is that whenever segmentation or spelling is not an issue, adult conventions will be observed.

The long table, Table 6, now follows.

Table 6

Categories for Coding the Writing Data

<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Category and Coding Abbreviation</u>	<u>Example</u>
<u>Codeswitching</u>	(wcs) word code switch (if the same switched word or phrase occurred several times in one piece it was only counted once)	
	Number of switched words	
	orthography of switched item	
	(orth S) Spanish	mi pari (party)
	(orth E) English	Mr.
	(both +) word used in each language	muy sad/muy triste
	(wcls) word class of the switch	
	(n+) noun agreeing in gender/number	un pari
	(n-) noun not agreeing in gender/number	las cowboy están (the cowboy are)
	(add) address term	Mr.
	(adj) adjective	es muy crazy (he's very crazy)
	(art) article	la teacher
	(exc) exclamation	Popeye dijo yay (Popeye said yay)
	(prep) preposition	de Mario (by Mario)
	(v) verb	el hace protect (he protects)

(phcs) phrase code switch (phrase = 2 or more adjacent words in one constituent)

number of switched phrases

(frm +) formulaic

(frm -) non-formulaic

orthography of the switch

(orth S) Spanish

(orth E) English

(sent +) phrase is a sentence

(sent -) phrase is not a sentence

(fit) switch fits into "flow"

(+) yes

(-) no

(REAS) inferred reason for switch

(cl) clarity

(egi) ethnic group identity

fioltrip (field trip)
bear in the woods

estic bol (stick ball)
little black sambo

I hope you go again to school
me gusta el low rider
(I like the low rider)

se llama Little Black Sambo (his name is LBS)
el Christmas tree
Christmas

miramos cactus de christmas cactus de Navidad (we saw Christmas cactus, Christmas cactus)

Querido Mr. Adler
(Dear Mr. Adler)

Spelling Inventions

- (11) learned in that language
- (lv) lexical variation (synonym instead of repetition?)
- (tpt) teacher provided phrase/ word in that language
- (a maximum of 3 pages per piece were analyzed for spelling to make the task manageable--the first and last pages and one in the middle)
- (INV) inventive treatment of multiple instances of same word
- (dif) different invention each time
- (rtdif) some conventional, others different
- (rtsta) some conventional, others stable inventions
- (sta) stable inventions
- (VINV) number of vowel inventions
- (CINV) number of consonant inventions (a vowel or consonant invention in a word appearing more than once and

hicimos popcorn (we made popcorn

triste.....sad (in same piece)

Bear in the Woods (title)

mayestra..maeyestra
malleestra (maestra, teacher)

vamos..bamos.. bmos
(vamos, we go)

vamos..bamos..bamos
(vamos, we go)

jimos...jimos
(fuimos, we went)

spelled the same way in each appearance was counted only once regardless of the number of times the word appeared in that piece)

via (había, there was)= 1 vowel invention, 2 consonant inventions

tene (tiene, she has)
= 1 vowel consonant

(RINV) reason for invention

(ell) elision (deletions occurring when 2 words are run together in flow of speech)

(lenm) letter name (uses sound of letter name rather than sound represented by letter)

(norm) speech community norm (spelling corresponds to community's pronunciation)²

(phft) phonetic feature (uses phonetic rather than phonics categories, such as place or manner of articulation, voicing, sound perceptibility)³

enthen (and then),
van agarar (van a agarrar, they're going to get)

staba (estaba, she was)

muncho (mucho, much)
patras (para atrás, back)

tanblien (manner of articulation)
(también, also)

(phgen) phonic generalization
(uses "rules" from phonics
lessons, or pronunciation
corresponds to anticipated spelling)

(sorth) use of Spanish orthography
for English words

(spst) spelling strategy (inferred
prolongued pronunciation within
a word, resulting in added letters)

(x) we don't know

(xL1,xL2) incomplete L1 or L2
acquisition (spelling influenced
by developmental level)

vien (bien, well)
ciero (quiero, I
want)

ceimar (K Mart),
joup (hope)

mallestra (maestra,
teacher)

dlahimales (animales,
animals)

sabo (sé, I know)
motocico (motorcycle)

Non-Spelling Conventions (SEG) Segmentation

(conv) any conventional

(+) yes

(-) no

(xconv) unconventional

(conj) no space between conjunction
and adjacent words or within a
string of function words from
same constituent

yllo voy (y yo voy,
and I go), ala
tienda (a la tienda,
to the store)

(frm) no space within a formulaic chunk

(nm) no space within a name

(none) no space within or between propositions

(not adj) no space between adverb and adjective

(not cp) no space between words from contiguous different constituents or phrases

(not NP) no space within an NP

(not pp) no space within a prepositional phrase or between a and IO pronoun

(not VP) no space within a VP

(NPVP) space between but not within an NP and a VP

ELFIN (El fin, The End)

Misadaton (Miss Dalton)

jimosaltendacomprsoda
(Fuimos a la tienda.
Compré soda., We went
to the store. I
bought soda.)

muybonitas (muy
bonitas, very pretty)

paraceno (para que
no, so that + NEG)

micasa es bonita (mi
casa es bonita, my
house is pretty)

alatienda (a la
tienda, to the store)
ami me gusta (a mí me
gusta, I like)

megusta la flor (me
gusta la flor, I
like the flower)

losreyes-letrajeron..
(los reyes le traje-
ron.., the kings
brought him..)

(syl) spaces between syllables

me gus ta ba)me
gustaba, I liked)

(syll) single letter stands by
itself

stauor pous T ry
(Star Wars poster y,
Star Wars poster and)

(sylw) spaces between syllables
within a word and one syllable is
attached to adjacent word

es tamala (está mala,
she's sick)

(xprop) no space within a proposition

jimosalcine (Fuimos
al cine, we went to
the movies)

(PUNC) Punctuation

(com ap) appropriate use of comma

(com nap) inappropriate use of comma

yo tengo, sete, años,
(yo tengo siete años,
I'm seven years old)

(cpend ex) number of expected complete sets

(cpend ob) number of observed complete sets

(hyp) used hyphen (anywhere)

(invde) invented designs on letters

(invend) invented end marks (stars, logos, etc.)

(obc) number of observed capital letters
(anywhere in piece)

(obe) number of observed end marks

(pcl) pattern, unconventional use of capital
at start of each line

(pcle) pattern, unconventional use of capitals
for certain letters

(pcp) capitals to start each page of a piece
but no other punctuation

(pmsf) capital at start and period at finish
but no internal punctuation

(pnol) pattern, unconventional use of a number
on each line

(ppe) period at end of piece but no other
punctuation

(ppl) pattern, unconventional use of period at
end of each line

(ppp) period at end of each page of a piece with
no other punctuation

(ppw) pattern, unconventional use of period after
certain words

(Q) used question mark (anywhere)

(unt) underlined the title

(TILD) Tildas

(-) none required, none appear

(+) required and appear

(ø) required but missing

(ap) used on appropriate letter

(napn) appears over the wrong nasal

(napv) appears over a vowel

nino (niño, child)

ñino(nino, child)

una vës (una vez,
one time)

(ACNT) Accent Marks

(ap diph) used appropriately, to
diphthongize

(apstr) used appropriately, to maintain
stress

(nap) used inappropriately

(nr) not required

(onc) on a consonant

(onxv) on wrong vowel

rfo (river)

mamá

sé fue (se fue, he
left)

eśa (esa, that)

diā (día, day)

(HWT) Handwriting

(allcur) all in cursive

(licur) some is in cursive

(mocur) almost all in cursive (e.g., only child's name is in manuscript)

(sccur) "scribbles" in cursive

(cc) color of writing tool matches meaning of word

rojo is written with red marker

(cnc) color of tool doesn't match meaning of word, but child uses different colors for different words

rojo is written with brown marker

(ex) explores (tries out different shapes for letters)

(L) makes lines on unlined paper

Stylistic Devices (SET) Setting

takes place in or concerns

(com) immediate community

Hoy es lunes. Papa me da un pato. Me comí un dari y era un atole.
(Today is Monday. Daddy gives me a duck. I ate a Dairy Queen and it was an atole (a corn drink).)

(hom) home

Mi casa es rojo y el color rojo está bonito y muchos gracias mi mama está bonita. Yo tengo naranjas y manzanas y una bandera y me gusta muchísimo. (My house is red and the color red is pretty and many thanks my mother is pretty. I have oranges and apples and a flag and I like it very much.)

(imag) imaginary

Había una vez Frankenstein y una chamaquita que estaba pescando

y el hombre Frankenstein la horcó y también a su papa. Nomás que estaban soñando. (Once upon a time Frankenstein and a little girl that was fishing and Frankenstein hooked her and also her daddy. They were only dreaming.)

(lcom) larger community

Hoy es jueves. Fuimos a comer. Fuimos a PE. Fuimos a la tienda. Fuimos a las vistas. Fuimos a la KMart. Fuimos al Circle K. Compraron sodas y cacahuates y Kool Aid y platanos y paletas y una piña colada, una soda. (Today is Thursday. We went to eat. We went to PE. We went to the store. We went to the movies. We went to KMart. We went to Circle K. We bought sodas and peanuts and Kool Aid and popsicles and a piña colada, a soda.)

(outcom) outside the community

En mis vacaciones fuimos a Magdalena. Y en Magdalena fuimos a la Isla del Padre y en la Isla del Padre es un mar bien grande y allí te puedes bañar y será muy divertido. Y luego fuimos a Reynosa. Fuimos a ver una tía mía y a mí me compraron un juego de lotería. Bueno, es todo. Gracias. (On my vacation we went to Magdalena. And at Magdalena we went to Padre Island. And on Padre Island it's a really big sea and there you can bathe and it'll be a lot of fun. And later we went to Reynosa. We went to see an aunt of mine and they bought me a lottery game. OK, that's all. Thank you.)

(rex) real but unknown setting

Estaba un día un muchachito en el agua. Se enfermó y lo llevaron al hospital. Le picaron y lloró. El Fin. El Fin. (One day there was a little boy in the water. He got sick and they took him to the hospital. They gave him a shot and he cried. The End. The End.)

(sch) school

Hoy es lunes. Ahora vamos a PE. Todos estamos sentados. Ahora la maestra la Sra. Miss D y coloramos campanitas rojas con cintas verdes y también un arbolito. Venimos a la escuela a trabajar para saber los papeles. (Today is Monday. Today we're going to PE. Today the teacher, Miss D and we color little red bells with green bands and also a little tree. We come to school to work to know the papers.)

(CHAR) Characters Mentioned

(an) animal

Un gatito se fue a California y pasó agua y luego pasó un arbol y luego pasó una montaña y también pasó un castillo y pasó... (A kitten went to California and passed water and later passed a tree and later passed a mountain and also it passed a castle and it passed...)

(comad) community adult

Hoy es jueves. Ahora vimos un policia y el policia tenía un mono con rosa y había una mujer con él sacando retratos de los niños. (Today is Thursday. Today a policeman came and the policeman had a doll with a rose and there was a woman with him taking pictures of the children.)

(fam) family

Hoy es martes. Mi mamá ya vino de la hospital ayer. (Today is Tuesday. My mommy already came home from the hospital yesterday.)

(fant) fantasy

Hoy es jueves. Fantasma Espantoso (Today is Thursday. Frightening ghosts)

(hist) historical

Querida Mrs. J.,
Yo le voy a mandar la carta de los indios de Creek Indian. Ellos

bailan la canción de the green corn stamp. Y un día el gobierno les dijo-Váyanse de aquí. Vaya a otro estado que se llama Oklahoma-. Y cuando el gobierno les dijo váyanse y le dijo cuando llegan van a tener todo. Pero el gobierno les estaba hablando mentiras y cuando llegaron no había nada, nomás pura nieve y los soldados no dejaban ir a pararse en ninguna parte. Y cuando sabía el gobierno que allá había gold, el gobierno y dijo-Váyanse de aquí, Vayan en otro estado-. ¿Y Señorita y voy quiere a la clase vernos bailar una canción de los indios y puede ir que nos vea a jugar stickball y a comer?

(Dear Mrs. J,

I'm going to send this letter to you about the Creek Indians. They dance the song of the green corn stamp. And one day the government told them "Go away from here. Go to another state that's called Oklahoma." And when the government told them go away and told them when they arrive they are going to have everything. But the government was telling them lies and when they arrived there wasn't anything, only snow, and the soldiers wouldn't let them stop anywhere and when the government knew that there was gold there, the government said, "Go away from here. Go to another state." And Miss, I'm going do you want to come to the class to see us dance an Indian song and can you go in order to see us play stickball and eat?)

(peer) peer

A mí me gusta jugar con Manuel. A mí me gusta jugar con Moses A. A mí me gusta jugar con Carlos. (I like to play with Manuel. I like to play with Jose A. I like to play with Moses. I like to play with Carlos.)

(perf) performers

Hoy es lunes. En la noche miré King Kong con mis hermanos y también con mi papa y también mi mamá. (Today is Monday. At night I watched King Kong with my brothers and also with my dad and my mom.)

(rel) religious figures

Hoy es jueves. Me gusta el niño de Dios y los reyes le trajeron regalos, muchos regalos. Estaban bonitos y los reyes le trajeron muchos regalos. Estamos haciendo un libro y está bonito el libro de Jesus. (Today is Thursday. I like the Son of God and the kings brought him presents, many presents. They were pretty and the kings brought him many presents. We're making a book and it's nice, the book of Jesus.)

(schad) school adult

Hoy es lunes. Hoy la maestra no vino porque está mala y vino otra maestra. (Today is Monday. Today the teacher didn't come because she's sick and another teacher came.)

(self) self

Ahora sí me siento bien. Y cuando llegué a la escuela yo estaba jugando muy contenta. Y yo estaba jugando con mi amiga Veronica y mi hermano estaba jugando con su amigo. (Now I do feel fine and when I returned to school I was playing very contentedly. And I was playing with my friend Veronica and my brother was playing with his friend.)

(self +) self + unidentified others

Hoy es jueves. Hicimos un monito. Hicimos galletitas. Pusimos un angelito en la pared. Hicimos gato. (Today is Thursday. We made a little doll. We made little cookies. We put a little angel on the wall. We made cat.)

(DIAL) Dialogue

(dir) direct

El fantasma asustó a la muchachita y gritó muy recio y su papa se levantó y dijo--¿Qué pasó mi hija? ¿Qué pasó? Dime. ¿Qué pasó? Dime. ¿Por qué mataron? Apurate, dime, andale... (The ghost scared the little girl and she screamed very loud and her daddy got up

and said, "What happened my child? Tell me. What happened? Why did they kill? Hurry, tell me, go on...")

(ind) indirect

Mi mamá dijo que se le quemó a mi tía y se le quemó la ropa.

(My mother said that my aunt got burned and her clothes got burned.)

(STSENS) Sense of Story

(pr) problem + resolution

Había una vez una princesa que estaba llorando todo tiempo. Su mamá la llevaron al circo. Está contenta la niña llorona.

(Once upon a time there was a princess who was crying all the time. Her mommy took her to the circus. She's happy, the crying child.)

(p) problem but no resolution

El monstruo se cortó el dedo y le dolió mucho y se cortó la pierna y le dolió mucho y lloró y lloró mucho y estaba llorando mucho pero mucho y pobrecito y gracias. (The monster cut his finger and it hurt him a lot and he cut his leg and it hurt a lot and he cried and cried a lot and he was crying so very much and poor little thing and thanks.)

(STYSYN) Syntax that "adds style"

(full) full or extended form

If we win the trophy again, it's going to us and I hope it keeps going to us. Nobody is going to take it from us. It will stay with us forevermore because we're coming every day, every day.

(rep) repeat of a pattern

Los Animales

El chango se está paseando en el columpio. El león en la selva.

El ratón enojado porque se cayó. La osita está triste porque está muy chiquita. El pollito está llorando. Dice-Pio, pio-. Lloro

triste. El pato nada en el lago. El elefante hace temblar la casa. La girafa está alegre. El perrito está jugando. La vaca está enojada. El pajarito chocó. El Fin.

The Animals

(The monkey is swinging on the swings. The lion in the jungle. The rat angry because he fell. The little bear is sad because she's very little. The little chick is crying. He says, "Peep, peep." He cries. The duck swims on the lake. The elephant makes the house shake. The giraffe is happy. The puppy is playing. The cow is angry. The little bird crashed. The End.)

(rev) reversal

Había una vez una princesa que estaba llorando todo el tiempo. Estaba llorando la princesa. La princesa estaba llorando. Está feliz porque tenía regalos. (Once upon a time there was a princess who was crying all the time. She was crying, the princess. The princess was crying. She's happy because she had presents.)

(incon) inconsistent tense usage

Yo fui a la cebolla tres días porque el domingo no hay cebolla y el domingo de lo que me saqué en la cebolla me compré en los perros una bicicleta de 15 dolares. Me gané en tres días 15 pesos y luego andaba yo arriando la bicicleta y luego estaba una bicicleta muy bonita y me la quiero comprar y tenía las llantas gruesas. (I went to the onion fields three days because on Sunday there's no onion picking and Sunday, with what I got in the onion fields I bought at the dog track a bicycle for 15 dollars. In three days I earned 15 dollars and later I was going around riding the bicycle and later it was a very pretty bicycle and I want to buy it and it had thick tires.)

(conpr) consistent present

Yo tengo una campana bien bonita y yo todo el tiempo la oigo sonar y yo voy y miro quien la está sonando. (I have a very pretty bell and I always hear it ring and I go and see who's ringing it.)

(conpt) tense, consistent past

A mí me gustó donde fuimos y a mí me gustó todas las piedras. Eran tan bonitas las piedras. Algunas brillaban y eran muy bonitas. Habían muchas piedras y había un cuarto oscuro. Brillaban las piedras y fuimos a comer y fuimos a jugar. (I liked where we went and I liked all the rocks. They were so pretty, the rocks. Some were shining and they were very pretty. There were many rocks and there was a dark room. The rocks were shiny and we went to eat and we went to play.)

(lp) consistent 1st person

Magic Egg

I am a girl and I am a magic girl. I can disappear a egg or a bunny and I found a pretty rock diamond. I can disappear a book or a rock or a house and I say the magic word and it disappeared you or me. I can disappear a lots of things or you or myself. I can disappear your sister or brother. I am finished.

(3p) consistent 3rd person

Los niños quebraron la ventana. El papá venía del trabajo. El papá les pegó a los niños. Costo mucho dinero. Ya estaban pobres. (The children broke the window. The father was coming from work. The father spanked the children. It cost a lot of money. They were already poor.)

(mxp) mixed person

Si yo fuera mágico yo haría muchas cosas y luego yo sacaría un conejo y muchas cosas más. Y yo le enseñaría a unos muchachos a ser mágico para que ellos les digan a sus mamás que podían hacer mágica. Y cuando crecieran les enseñarían a los animales como hacer muchas cosas y todos los animales fueran amigos y miraran lo que hacía el animal que estaba haciendo el mágico. Y se sentaban a mirar el magic y el animal que estaba haciendo el magic sacará un pajaro. (If I were magic I would do alot of things and later I would take out a rabbit and many more things. And I would teach

some boys to be a magician so that they can tell their moms that they could do magic. And when they grow up they would teach the animals how to do many things and all the animals would be friends and will look at what the animal was doing that was doing the magic. And they were sitting watching the magic and the animal that was doing the magic took out a bird.)

Structural Features
(TP) Type

(s) signature

(s) single
(r) repeated

JOSE
David (26 times)

(c) caption

esta es una flor
(this is a flower)
(under a picture)

(J) journal

(dscp) description

Hoy es miercoles. Yo sé leer. Tenemos un cocono.
(Today is Wednesday. I know how to read. I have a coconut.)

(ex) exploring

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could be
could be

(h) heading only

Hoy es lunes (Today is Monday)

(pl) plans

Hoy es martes. Vamos en la montaña tener vacaciones y 25 enero nos vamos a Texas. (Today is Tuesday. We're going to the mountain to take a vacation and 25th of January we're going to Texas.)

(pos) position on one major topic

A mí me gusta hacer libros y yo los hago y a mí me gusta leerlos. Yo le hice uno a mi mamá y le gustó mucho y ella lo tiene todavía. (I like to make books and I make them and I like to read them. I made one for my mom and she liked it a lot and she still has it.)

(r) reports

Hoy es martes. Ahora mi hermana me compró Valentines. (Today is Tuesday. Today my sister bought me Valentines.)

(L) Letter

(grt) greeting (birthday or Christmas)

Querido Mr. G.,

Yo te quiero decir feliz cumpleaños para los cumpleaños tuyos y la maestra me dijo que a tí te gusta pescar y a mí me gusta cazar también y pescar y ojalá que tengas una fiesta. Tu amigo,
Eddie F.

(Dear Mr. G.,

I want to tell you happy birthday for your birthday and the teacher told me that you like to fish and hunt and I like to hunt also and fish and I hope you have a party.
Your friend,
Eddie F.)

(gw) get well

Querido Maestro G.,

Nosotros le vamos a escribir una historia porque usted está malo y nosotros no sabíamos que usted estaba malo de la pansa o de la garganta. Nosotros queremos que vuelva para atrás a la escuela porque nosotros lo queremos mucho porque usted está bien malo. ¿Qué le duele? ¿Está malo? ¿Bien, malo? Que (indecipherable) no se puede levantar de la cama. ¿Por cuál calle es para su casa? Yo no sé donde vive. Si supiera donde viviera, yo cuando saliera de la escuela me iba para su casa con la bike a verlo como estaba malo o poquito. Nomás que no se levantaba. Yo quisiera que usted estuviera bien bueno y también yo quisiera...

Tu amigo,

A.

(Dear Mr. G.,

We're going to write you a story because you are sick and we didn't know that you were sick in the stomach or in the throat. We want you to come back to school because we like you a lot because you are very sick. What hurts you? Are you bad? Well? Bad? (undecipherable) you can't get up out of bed. What street is your house on? I don't know where you live. If I knew where you lived, when I got out of school I would go to your house with the bike to see how you were, really sick or a little. Only you weren't getting up. I wish you were all well and also I wish...

Your friend,

A.)

(inf) informing (all about X)

see example under Stylistic Devices, character, historical

(intr) introduction (to penpal)

Querida Juana,
Yo me llamo F. Yo tengo nueve años. A mí me gusta lavar los trastes y hacer la casa y cuando llega mi papá y mira toda la casa está limpia. A mí me gusta jugar a Not It con mis amigos.
Tu amigo,
F.

(Dear Juana,
My name is F. I'm 9 years old. I like to wash dishes and clean the house and when my dad returns and looks, the whole house is clean. I like to play Not It with my friends.
Your friend,
F.)

(inv) invitation
Querida Mrs. E.,
Nosotros vamos a tener una comida el miércoles 17 a las 1:00 PM y es muy sabrosa y dígame si va ir. Sí o no. Y pase el día de Christmas y el salón 4 de la escuela Sunset y le va gustar mucho.
Tu amiga,
R.C.

(r) news and chit-chat
Querida Elisa,
Muchas gracias por la galletas. Estaban buenas. ¿Y sabes lo que dijo la maestra? Que vamos hacer una cosa y a usted le va a gustar. Y sabes que para la otra semana te voy a dar el retrato. Ahora no se me va olvidar y yo te voy a dar el retrato. Tú tienes chapstick de la boca. Y yo sí me pongo. ¿Y tú te pones? Sí o no.
Tu amiga,
R.

(Dear Elisa,
Thanks a lot for the cookies. They were good. And do you know what the teacher said? That we're going to make a thing and you're going to like it. And do you know that the other week I'm going to send you the picture? I'm not going to forget now and I'm going to give you the picture. You have chapstick for the mouth. And I am going to put it on. Are you going to put it on? Yes or no?
Your friend,
R.)

(of) offer of help
Queridos Señores,
Yo te quiero ayudar con los animales porque están en danger y se están muriendo muchos animales y una gente los matan y nomás los dejan tirados y una gente los matan y se comen la carne porque la necesitan.
Tu querida amiga,
P.

(Dear Sirs,
I want to help you with the animals because they're in danger and many animals are dying and some people kill them and leave them thrown around and some people kill them and eat the meat because they need it.
Your dear friend,
P.)

(rq) request
Yo le voy a llevar esta carta a usted, Santa Clos, para que me de una moto. Y la casa tiene un cuartito y allí puede meter la moto para que no batalle mucho metiendolo por una ventana. Y mi casa es 13574. Gracias.

(I'm going to send this letter to you, Santa Claus, so that you give me a motorcycle. And the house has a little room and there you can put the motorcycle so that you don't struggle a lot putting it through the window. my house is 13574. Thank you.)

(th) thank you
Estimada Sra. J.,
Muchas gracias por la piñata.
V.

(Esteemed Mrs. J.,
Thank you very much for the piñata.
V.)

(E) Expository

(cd) partially copied or dictated
Santa Clos trae presentes. Santa Clos trae muñecas. Santa Clos sale en la noche. Santa Clos trae carros. Los enanos ayudan a Santa Clos. Santa Clos trae juguetes. Santa Clos trae bolsas.

(Santa Claus brings presents. Santa Claus brings dolls. Santa Claus goes out at night. Santa Claus brings cars. The dwarfs help Santa Claus. Santa Claus brings toys. Santa Claus brings bags.)

(dscp) description
Es un Santa Clos y él se mete por la chimenea. El me da presentes y él tiene una gorra y tiene un cinto negro grande y tiene un traje rojo y las botas son negras y tiene un trineo con venados.

(It's a Santa Claus and he puts himself through the chimney. He gives me presents and he has a cap and he has a big black

belt and he has a red suit and his boots are black and he has a sleigh with deer.)

(ilk) "I like"

A mí me gusta jugar con Manuel. A mí me gusta jugar con José. A mí me gusta jugar con Moses. A mí me gusta jugar con Agustín. A mí me gusta jugar con Carlos.

(I like to play with Manuel. I like to play with Jose. I like to play with Moses. I like to play with Agustin. I like to play with Carlos.)

(inf) all about X

Thanksgiving Dinners

First you buy a 20 pound turkey and some stuffing and some corn and some wine and some paper plates, some potatoes. Put the turkey on a bowl and put some hot water on the bowl and put the bowl on the stove and let it cook till it's done and put it on a big paper plate. Look in the back of the paper and then cook the potatoes and the corn. Stuff the turkey with the stuffing and open the wine. Pour it on some glasses and light up some candles and eat it with a fork, a spoon, and a knife. There, it's all done.

(pl) plans

Yo voy a ser más grande y yo quiero trabajar en un restaurante y manejar los cocineros.

(I'm going to be bigger and I want to work in a restaurant and manage the cooks.)

(pos) position on/reaction to non-media

Nosotros estamos muy felices porque ganamos el trofeo y ojalá que lo ganemos otra vez y más veces para que hagamos una fiesta. Y gracias a usted Mrs. S. porque nos dió paletas y le doy gracias otra y una vez. Es todo lo que quiero decir. Gracias.

(We're very happy because we won the trophy and I hope that we win it again and more times so we can have a party. And thank you Mrs. S. because you gave us popsicles and I thank you again and again. That's all I want to say. Thanks.)

(prj) projecting into unlikely future

I will think when I was a penny I be in a woman pocket and she could take me to the store and buy things with me and I will be in a man's pocket and he will take me to a ride because he is so nice with a penny and I will be lost and a little girl will find me because somebody throw me in through the window.

(r) report

Estaba diffcil para agarrar el grillo y la mariposa. El sapo no era diffcil para agarrar.

(It was difficult to catch the cricket and the butterfly. The frog wasn't hard to catch.)

(arm) summary of or reaction to media

Estaba muy bonito el programa porque habfa mucha gente y habfa muchas galletas y cantamos 4 canciones. Eran muy bonitos los gorritos. Eran muy bonitos y el perro eran tan chistoso y el pan se le cafa de la boca. Eran tan chistoso.

(The program was very nice because there were a lot of people and a lot of cookies and we sang four songs. The little caps were very nice. They were very nice and the dog was so comical and the bread was falling out of his mouth. It was so comical.)

(st) story

(in) invented

One day I was walking to the desert and I saw a cave and then I saw a dinosaur and I ran out and I never came back to that cave. The End.

(re) retelling of known story

Este es un cuento de un muchachito y se llamaba Little Black Sambo y era su cumpleaños y le compraron ropa y se fue al bosque y un tigre brincó y le dijo--Yo tengo hambre.--Y el muchachito dijo--Te doy mis zapatos si no me comes.--Y el tigre dijo--Bueno.--Y otro saltó y dijo--Te voy a comer--y dijo--Te doy mi gorra.--Y--Bueno--Y el tigre se fue y saltó otro y dijo--Dame tu camisa.--Y se la puso y se fue y todos los tigres se estaban peleándose y se andaban correteándose y andaban corriendo recio y hasta que hicieron como mantequilla y el papá vino y trajo una olla y agarró la mantequilla en un olla y el muchachito se comió 19 pancakes y la mamá nomás se comió 10 pancakes y el papá comió 18.

(This is a story of a little boy and his name was Little Black Sambo and it was his birthday and they bought him clothes and he went out in the woods and a tiger jumped and said to him, "I'm hungry" and the little boy said, "I give you my shoes if you don't eat me." And the tiger said, "Good." And another leapt and said, "I'm going to eat you." And he said, "I give you my cap." And, "Good." And the tiger left and leaped out another and said, "Give me your shirt." And he put it on and left and all the tigers were fighting and were going along running each other and were continuing to run fast and at last they got like butter and the papa came and brought a jar and gathered up the butter in a jar and the little boy ate 19 pancakes and the mother only ate 10 pancakes and the papa ate 18.)

(B) book

(c) captions only (1 caption per picture per page)

El chile está feliz. El conejo está brincando. Mi hermano está en el cine. Yo voy a la iglesia todos los días.

(The chile is happy. The rabbit is jumping. My brother is at the movie. I go to church every day.)

(st) with story line

El Hueso Chistoso

Había una vez un hueso chistoso y él, cuando se dormía, él se levantaba dormido y comía y se rió. Y un día el hueso chistoso se casó y tenía una esposa que se llamaba huesa chistosa--Vamos a agarrar flores.--Y se fueron agarrar flores y estaba un conejo en el zacate y él brincó y la huesa chistosa gritó. Y el hueso chistoso se comenzó a reír y a reír. Y el hueso chistoso se cayó y la huesa chistosa se rió. Y el hueso chistoso se levantó y se pelearon. Y la huesa chistosa tiró al hueso chistoso en el agua. Y él se murió y ella se mató con un cuchillo.

(The Funny Bone

Once upon a time there was a funny bone and he, when he was sleeping, he got up asleep and he would eat and he laughed. And one day the funny bone got married and had a wife that was named Funny Bone-a. And one day the funny bone said to Funny Bone-a, "We're going to gather flowers." And they went out to get flowers and there was a rabbit in the grass and he jumped and Funny Bone-a screamed. And the funny bone began to laugh and laugh. And the funny bone fell and the Funny Bone-a laughed. And the funny bone got up and they fought. And Funny Bone-a threw the funny bone in the water. And the funny bone died and she killed herself with a knife.)

(p) poetry

(nr) non-rhyming
Carrito
Tiene motor
Corre como conejo
Me gusta el carro
Lowrider

(Little car
It has a motor
It runs like a rabbit
I like the car
Lowrider

(r) rhyming
Los pajaritos son bonitos.
A mí me gustan los pajaritos.
Son muy bonitos
y me gusta como vuelan.

(The little birds are pretty.
I like the little birds.
They're very pretty
And I like how they fly.)

(o) other (disconnected/random words)
A mí no me gusta viajar. Yo las...a...yo porque ya si ser
y em a la...The L and see like the Pioneer a la casa pink
and I like the...yo no...

(LG) Language

(S) Spanish (though there may be isolated words or phrases in English)

(E) English (though there may be isolated words or phrases in Spanish)

(eS) begins in English, mostly in Spanish

(ES) part English, part Spanish

(Se) most in Spanish, ends in English

(Es) most in English, ends in Spanish

(UN) Unassigned

(+) yes, child wrote spontaneously

(-) no, child wrote as an assignment

(WD) Words

(number, not counting "hey es" in journals or signatures or heading in letter)

(CTP) Culturally Specific Items

(part of culture of this community but not shared with Anglo community)

cebollas, lowrider,
piñata, chicharones,
etc.

(BT) "Bootlegged" Topics

(parenthetically inserted into piece--
child is tattling or being outrageous)

other children's or
own misbehavior,
drugs, blowing nose
on mother, etc.

(AUD) Intended Reader

(anonad) anonymous adult

see example under
Type, letter offer

(gen) general (a default category. When
no one reader was named and when teacher
had not directed child to write)

Todos los días cae nieve en todas las partes. Y también caía lluvia
en todas las partes y un señor se robó y la policía iba. La
policía agarró al señor y lo llevó a la cárcel y allí se estuvo
todos los días. Era cuando estaba cayendo nieve.

(Every day it snows everywhere. And also it was raining everywhere and a man robbed and the police came. The police caught the man and took him to jail and there he stayed forever. It was when the snow was falling.)

(in) child/animal in class

Estimado Loro,

Me gusta el nombre Chiflo para tí y ayer sí escribí una carta para tí pero mi nombre estaba atrás del papel. C.

(Esteemed Parrot,

I like the name Chiflo for you and yesterday I did write a letter for you but my name was on the back of the paper. C.)

(inad) in-school adult

see example under
Type, letter get-well

(out) child out of class

see example of penpal
letter under Type,
letter, introduction

(outad) out-of-school, named adult

see example under
Type, letter, invita-
tion

(Tdg) teacher in role of direction-giver
(whenever the writing was prompted by the
teacher's assignment and had no other named
audience, the intended reader was inferred
to be the teacher as giver of assignments/
directions)

see example under
Type, expository,
report

(ACT) Signals Knowledge that there is a Reader

(aQ) answers remembered question posed by intended reader (e.g.,

teacher as direction-giver asked Q and child responded)

(piece begins thusly)

Me gusta mucho y estaba jugando con mis amigas...

(I like it a lot and I was playing with my friends...)

(no mention of what she likes)

(cl) clarifies an earlier statement

...una tía mfa se casó con mi tío. Quiero a mi tío mfa. Comí arroz y frijoles y comimos carne y estaba rico. Es Olivia C.

(..an aunt of mine got married to my uncle. I like my aunt.

I ate rice and beans and we ate meat and it was delicious. She is Olivia C.)

(cl PRO) closing pronoun in letter refers to reader

Tu amigo, F.

(Your friend, F.)

(cmpt) compliments intended reader

...y Ud. está bonita...

(..and you are pretty..)

(dirSA) specific speech act directed to reader (e.g., a promise, request, question of information, order, etc.- compliments treated separately)

Querido Mr. G.,

¿Cuánto cumpliste ahora?

(Dear Mr. G.,

How old are you now?)

(h) names intended reader in the heading

Querida Mrs. J.

(Dear Mrs. J.)

(mk) uses marks or arrows for reader (directing reader to turn page or to look up/down/sideways to find next word)

(nm) names intended reader in the text
Santa Claus, yo quiero que me traiga una bicicleta...
(Santa Claus, I want you to bring me a bicycle...)

(pinf) gives precise information about
time or place

see example under
Type, letter, invitation and Type,
letter request

(pol) politeness terms
..Es todo. Gracias
(..That's all. Thank you.)

(pr) makes asides/parenthetical remarks
...y el chavalito mató el dragon y el chavalito y yo no sé como se llama y el hombre tumbó el chavalito...
(...and the little guy killed the dragon and the little guy and I don't know what his name is and the man knocked down the little guy...)

(ref2p) refers to intended reader in 2nd person
...y gracias a Ud., Mrs. S, porque nos dió paletas y le doy gracias otra y una vez...
(...and thank you, Mrs. S, because you gave us popsicles and I thank you again and again...)

(ref3p) refers to intended reader in the 3rd person
...La maestra trajo sus niños...
(..The teacher brought her children...)

(rlt) related own experiences to intended reader's experiences

see example under
Type, letter, greeting

(rhQ) rhetorical question

...y ¿qué para si mi hermano está así? Yo me iba a sentir muy muy sad..
(..and what if my brother is that way? I was going to feel very very sad...)

(BEG) Beginnings

(char) introduces character

Este es el cuento de unos hombres que estaban ciegos y el mapache que les hacía males...

(This is the story of some men who were blind and the raccoon that was doing them wrong...)

(frm) formula

Hoy es _____ (on journals) (Today is _____)

Había una vez...(on stories) (once upon a time...)

(lpt) first part of event

Yo me subí en el avión con mi hermana y miré el carnaval y miré muchas cosas y comí quequis...

(I went up in an airplane with my sister and I looked at the carnival and I looked at a lot of things and I ate cakes...)

(2pp_) second pair part

see example under
Signals Knowledge that
There is a Reader,
answers remembered
question

(item) first item in an assortment or list

Fuimos a comer. Fuimos a PE. Fuimos a la tienda...

(We went to eat. We went to PE. We went to the store...)

(pos) position on topic or purpose of the piece

Me gusta el programa... (I like the program...)

Gracias por darnos la piñata...(Thank you for giving us the pinata..)

(prj) projecting into a contrary-to-fact situation (teacher has not provided the opening for all to write about)

Si yo no tenfa un brazo, iba a estar muy triste...

(If I didn't have an arm I was going to be very sad...)

(reas) gives reason for writing

La clase está estudiando los Indios Creek y yo me dijo la maestra que tú sabes de los Navajos y no de Creek y me dijo que te mandábamos un cuento de los Indios Creek...

(The class is studying the Creek Indians and the teacher just told me that you know about the Navajos and not about Creek and she told me that we send you a story about the Creek Indians...)(goes on to tell about the Creek Indians)

(rej) explicit rejection of teacher's topic

Yo no fui a ninguna parte ni a las montañas ni a ninguna parte...

(I didn't go anywhere, not to the mountains or anywhere...)(topic was what would you or did you do in the mountains)

(stg) setting (establishing time or place)

Era oscuro y estaba lloviendo y tenía mucho miedo...

(It was dark and it was raining and I was very afraid...)

(to) teacher-provided opening

Una noche iba yo manajando mi carro en camino para la casa de mi amigo. De repente se reventó una llanta. Cuando me bajé de mi carro, of un ruido espantose...

(One night I was driving my car along the road to my friend's house. Suddenly a tire blew. When I got out of my car, I heard a terrifying noise...)(children were to finish the piece)

(tpc) names topic

Yo hice un totem pole...(rest of piece is about the totem pole)

(I made a totum pole...)

(ttl) title
How To Escape From The Pirates

(typ) states type
yo le mando esta carta con mucho cariño y...
(I send you this letter with much affection and....)

(END) Endings

(byn) by + name

...de Maria M.C.
(...by Maria M.C.)

(dt) date

(end) explicit end

Es todo.(That's all),
El Fin_(The End)

(frm) formula

...feliz como siempre
(..happily ever
after.), Tu amigo, M.
(Your friend, M.)

(nc) no closure (as in lists)

see example under
Type, expository,
"I like"

(nice) something "nice"

...y están bonitos.
(..and they're nice.)
...y me gusta mucho.
(..and I like it a
lot.)

(nml) first name

(nml+2) first and last name

(pol) politeness

...y gracias maestra
(..and thank you,
Teacher)

(pos) position on the topic or purpose of the piece

Allí están cantando. Y cantaron suave y cantaron cuatro canciones y estaban suave y la de nosotros no gustó la de nosotros y nosotros no cantamos suave y nosotros cantamos dos canciones y el programa estaba suave menos él de nosotros. Nosostros cantamos feo. El fin.

(They're singing there. And they sang nicely and they sang four songs and they were nice and ours, I didn't like ours, and we didn't sing nicely and we sang two songs and the program was nice except for us. We sang ugly. The End.)

(refbg) refers back to beginning

A mí me gustó el muchacho, él que se estaba bañando en el baño y me gustaron las mujeres que tenían los patitos en la bolsas. Me gustó el ruido. A mí me gustó las mujeres y la ropa que tenían puestas y cuando llegamos todavía no tenían todo y el muchacho cantó Ralph Bamba pero no entendí nada porque tocaban muy recio y me gustó las mujeres con el sombrero y lo estaban pisando. Me gustó el humo que salió y después cantaron dos mujeres y no tenían zapatos. Pero no me gustó el ruido del tambo, me gustó mas el hombre que se estaba bañando en el baño y las mujeres que tenían el patito en la bolsa.

(I liked the boy, the one who was bathing in the bath and I liked the women that had little ducks in the bags. I liked the noise. I liked the women and the clothes they were putting on and when we arrived they didn't have everything yet and the boy sang Ralph Bamba but I didn't understand anything because they played very fast and I liked the women with the hat and they were stepping on it. I liked the smoke that came out and later two women sang and they didn't

have shoes. But I didn't like the noise of the drum. I liked the man that was bathing in the bath the most and the women that had little ducks in the bag.)

(sall) summary of the whole/total wrap-up

Falling Off A Cliff

One day me and my friend were climbing a very big cliff and by the time we were on the top something awful happened. My friend wasn't in sight so I checked if he beat me up the cliff, but no. So I look down and there he was and no more climbing cliffs. The End.

(spt) summary of or comment on a part

Today is Wednesday. La teacher bring a motorcycle and jacket. The big motorcycle is black and big.

(x) unfinished (stopped mid-word or mid-sentence)

Querido Santiago,

Hoy vino un señor para la clase y los enseñó una fossil de un dinosaurio. Y el pie tiene tres dedos y no está. . .

(Dear Santiago,

Today a man came to class and showed us a fossil of a dinosaur. And the foot has three toes and it isn't. . .

(xnxt) more complex structure or more elaborate, longer, or emphatic wording for last lines or clauses.

10 little elephants jumping on a bed, 1 fall down and cracked her head and then there were nine. 9 little elephants, 1 eat too much and then there were 8 little elephants swimming in the sea, 1 drowned and then there were 7 little elephants, 1 got in a fight and then there were 6 little elephants, 1 fall down from the Grand Canyon and then there were 5 little elephants, 1 got fired in to the moon and then there were 4 little elephants, 1 got stuck on a tree and then there were 3 little elephants, 1 got stuck in the tube of toothpaste and then there were 2 little elephants, 1 ran away and then

there were 1. That little elephant brought them all back and then there were 10 back again.

(OP) Organizational Principle

(Categorizing a piece as organized according to time, space, associative, or classificatory principles was not done simply by looking at linking words such as because or then, since such words did not always signal causal or temporal relations between clauses. It was these relations, inferred by the adult reader, that were used for coding organizational principles)

(ass) associative (loosely connected ideas, no apparent hierarchy)
A mí me gusta el Santa Clos y me da presentes bien bonitos y me gustan porque están bien nuevos y las llantas están nuevecitas como las bicicletas. Las llantas están nuevecitas y los rims están nuevecitos y por eso corren recio.

(I like Santa Claus and he gives me very nice presents and I like them because they're quite new and the tires are really new like the bikes. The tires are really new and the rims are really new and that's why they go fast.)

(bs) big shift in topic, type, or intended reader

Estimado Señor Chiflo,

Quiero este nombre. Mrs. D., gracias por las cartas y por los lápices.

R.

24 febrero 1981

Fin.

(Esteemed Mr. Chiflo,

I like this name. Mrs. D., thank you for the letters and for the pencils.

R.

24 February, 1981

End)

(cd) dictated or copied

see example under
Organizational Prin-
ciple, repetition of
a frame

(clas) classificatory (a hierarchy of ideas)

I still remember about yesterday night. We had to do the play about the Thanksgiving sausage. Everybody was embarassed, but it was very fun.

(f) repetition of a frame

Santa Clos.

Santa Clos trae presentes. Santa Clos trae muñecas. Santa Clos sale en la noche. Santa Clos trae carros. Los enanos le ayudan al Santo Clos. Santa Clos trae juguetes. Santa Clos trae dulces.

(Santa Claus

Santa Claus brings presents. Santa Claus brings dolls. Santa Claus goes out at night. Santa Claus brings cars. The dwarfs help Santa Claus. Santa Claus brings toys. Santa Claus brings candy.)

(frm) uses known formula and fills in slots

See example under
Endings, elaborates
last line (based on
"Ten Little Indians")

(rdm) random words or phrases

A mí no me gusta viajar. Yo las. . a . .yo porque ya si ser y em a la. .The I and see like the Pioneer a la casa pink and I like the. . yo no. . .

(rep) repetition/duplication of clauses

Totem poles protect you. They have faces of animals. My totem pole has a lion on it. Toten poles are big and they have wings and they are too big and they are too big and they are too big and they are from the Navajos.

(sp) space (co-occurring attributes or events)

Hoy es miércoles. Ahora no vino la maestra porque todavía está mala. Pobrecita, está mala.

(Today is Wednesday. Today the teacher didn't come because she's still sick. Poor little thing; she's sick.)

(ti) time

Había una vez una princesa que estaba llorando todo tiempo. Su mamá la llevaron al circo. Está contenta la niña llorona.

(Once upon a time there was a princess that cried all the time. Her mother took her to the circus. She's happy, the crying princess.)

(COH) Cohesion (EXO) Exophoric reference

(goth) general other(s) (child probably does not know who "they" are)

see example under
Type, letter, offer
of help

(poth) particular other(s)

Hoy es miércoles. Me compraron un libro en la tienda. Es libro de colorear.

(Today is Wednesday. They bought me a book at the store. It's a coloring book.)

(rdr) reader

Yo hice un totem pole y se miraba bien bonito y a todos le gustó y era bien, bien, bien, bien bonito y bien grande y bonito y era café. ¿Y sabes cuántas caras tenía? Tenía siete caras. ¿Y sabes de qué color es? Es azul y verde y color rosa y negro y amarillo y café y anaranjado y era bien, bien bonito y me gusta mucho y lo tengo en la escuela y está dentro de mi escritorio y es bien bonito y grande.

(I made a totem pole and it looked really nice and everybody liked it and it was really really really really nice and really big and nice and it was brown. And do you know how many faces it had?

It had 7 faces. And do you know what color it is? It's blue and green and pink and black and yellow and brown and orange. And it was really really nice and I like it a lot and I have it in school and it's inside my desk and it's really nice and big.)

(ttl) title

How to Escape from the Pirates

First, if they captured me, they would put me in a little room with a window way up top so I would rip my shirt and make it to a rope, throw it up to the window and climb up it till I'm in the top and jump out the window and on to a little boat and sail as far as I can till the navy found me and I told them that captured me and they would arrest them forever. The End.

(w) writer

Hoy es martes. Ahora mi hermana me compró Valentines.

(Today is Tuesday. Today my sister bought me Valentines.)

(w+) writer + others

Hoy es miércoles. Puse el arbolito. Hicimos unos angeles. Hicimos unas flores.

(Today is Wednesday. I put up a little tree. We made angels. We made some flowers.)

(LINK) Links Between Clauses

(and) additive

y(and), y también
(and also), 4 others

(but) adversative

pero (but), and
instead, 4 others

(so) causative

porque (because),
por eso (therefore),
20 others

(then) temporal

cuando (when),
luego (later),
14 others

(other) other

que (that), donde
(where), 7 others

(Ø) no links

Hoy es jueves. Arbolito hicimos de Christmas. La Miss D. no está aquí--ahora no está. Me compraron zapatos negros.
(Today is Thursday. We made a little Christmas tree. Miss D. isn't here. Today she isn't. They bought me black shoes.)

(QATT) Quality Attributes in the Content

(apa) awareness of audience or purpose

(can) candor (also realism)

(coh) coherent (understandable to adult reader)

(exl) expressive language (uses analogy, metaphor, dialogue, onomatopoeia)

(inf) informative (descriptive, detailed)

(ins) insight (below-the-surface perspective)

(iow) involvement of the writer (shows personal feelings, sincerity, genuineness, tries to convince, advises reader.)

(org) organization (sequential, complete, closure included)

(ori) originality (tackles a problem, uses fantasy or humor, seems unique)

(voc) unique or varied vocabulary

Each piece of writing was coded by each team, according to that team's responsibility. Thus, the invented spelling team coded each piece with the categories listed under invented spelling in Table 6. With a few exceptions, the coding as well as the category emergence was governed by a search for what was present in the writing rather than what was absent. This was not quite true for the coding of Type, as has already been discussed in the section immediately preceding Table 6. It is also not completely descriptive of the second phase of the assessment of attributes of quality in the content. In the first phase, the team responsible for Quality Attributes of Content defined its role as one of looking for positive qualities that were present in the total collection of pieces. In the second phase, however, the same three raters who had generated lists of attributes each weighed every piece and rated it from 0 to 3 against each of the 10 final attributes. The number meant the extent to which that rater felt the piece displayed that particular quality. Thus a writing sample might be coded as lacking in the Quality Attribute of originality by this team. Other teams, however, did not generally code pieces as lacking in letter closings, character introduction, etc.

The fact that many people looked at the same data for different purposes created a many-layered perceptual net that had an effect similar to sifting and re-sifting flour. Not only were different perspectives (e.g., code-switch-

ing, spelling, etc.) brought to bear on the same data, but different perceivers could interact with each other about the same data.

An example of all the ways one piece was coded follows:

~~A mi me gusto~~
~~El programa~~
~~Mrs. S. y~~
~~y estaba~~
~~suave y~~
~~cantamos~~
~~suave y~~
~~cantamos~~
~~otra cancion~~
~~El Fin de~~
~~M.M.C.~~
~~7 abril~~
~~Hoy es~~
~~martes~~
~~(I liked~~
~~Mrs. S's~~
~~program~~
~~and it~~
~~was~~
~~nice~~
~~and~~
~~we~~
~~sang~~
~~nicely~~
~~and~~
~~we~~
~~sang~~
~~two~~
~~songs~~
~~and~~
~~I~~
~~wanted~~
~~to~~
~~sing~~
~~another~~
~~song.~~
~~The~~
~~End~~
~~by~~
~~M.M.C.~~
~~April~~
~~7,~~
~~1981~~
~~Today~~
~~is~~
~~Tuesday)~~

A mi me gusto el programa de
 Mrs. S. y estaba muy suave y
 nosotros cantamos suave y
 cantamos dos canciones y yo
 queria cantar otra cancion.
 El Fin de M.M.C.
 7 abril 1981
 Hoy es martes

(I liked Mrs. S's program and
 it was nice and we sang nicely
 and we sang two songs and I
 wanted to sing another song.
 The End by M.M.C.
 April 7, 1981
 Today is Tuesday)

Code Switching

Word code switch	2 (Mrs., Program)
orthography of switch	Spanish, English
word class	address term, noun agreeing in number and gender with other- language text
fits the flow?	yes
reason for switch	synonym

Spelling Inventions

vowel inventions, Spanish	1 (mi)
------------------------------	--------

consonant inventions, 1 (Mrs.)
English

consonant inventions, 1 (yo)
Spanish

reason for invention, phonics generalization (my/mi;
Spanish llo/yo)=2

reason for invention, Spanish orthography (mis/Mrs.)=1
English

Non-Spelling Conventions

segmentation
any conventional? yes

unconventional no space within pronominal IO
construction (ami/a mi)

no space within VP (megusto/
me gustó)

no space between words from
different constituents (pro-
grande/programa de; finde/fin de)

punctuation space between syllables
(canta mos/cantanos)

pattern, capital on certain
words (on all but 8)

tilda none required

accent used appropriately, to maintain
stress (María)

Stylistic Devices

setting school

dialogue none

characters self, school adult, peers

syntax that adds
"style" consistent past tense
first person perspective

Structural Features

type expository, summary of/reaction

	to media	
language	Spanish	
unassigned?	yes	
number of words	33 (exclusive of name and date)	
culturally specific topics?	no	
intended reader	general	
signal of knowledge that there is a reader?	none	
beginning	position on topic	
ending	position on topic by + name date explicit end	
organizational principle	associative	
cohesion	exophoric reference links between clauses	writer + others y=4 none =1 (between <u>otra canción</u> and <u>el fin</u>)

Quality Attributes (median rankings of three raters)

involvement of the writer	1
originality	2
awareness of audience/purpose	1
organization	1
candor	1
informativeness	1
vocabulary	1
expressive language	2
coherence (understandability)	1
insight	1

All codings were then entered into a computer so that they could be tallied in various sub-sets. (Only the median ratings on Quality Attributes was entered.) That is, tallies of Spanish vs. English pieces were obtained; then the data were re-shuffled to produce tallies on, for instance, assigned vs. unassigned pieces. Table 7 shows the sub-sets or "runs" or print outs made by the computer. These represent both binary divisions and also sub-sets that allow longitudinal comparison within grade, cross-sectional comparison across grades, and longitudinal comparisons for given children.

Table 7

Sub-sets of Data Tallied by Computer

Language	Spanish English
Unassigned	yes no
Grade X Collection ⁺ X Type [*]	grade 1, collection 2, letters, journals, total types grade 1, collection 4, expository, letters, stories, journals, books, total types grade 2, collection 1, expository, letters, total types grade 2, collection 4, expository, letters, stories, journals, books, total types grade 3, collection 1, expository, stories, total types grade 3, collection 4, expository, stories, total types

grade X, collection 1, expository, total types

grade X, collection 4, expository, stories, total types

Child X Collection X Type child #3, collection 1, signature, total types

child #3, collection 2, journals, total types

child #3, collection 3, letters, journals, total types

child #3, collection 4, letters, journals, total types

+Since the first collection for grade 1 consisted entirely of signatures, the second collection was used for purposes of same-type comparison over time.

* All types were not tallied because there were not examples of all types from all grades in each collection. The types listed are those that appear in the collection.

** The other selected subjects were #6, #11, #15, #20, #22, and #25. (These seven children were chosen on the basis of a vote, taken among all these who had coded data, pertaining to which were the "most interesting" children in each grade.) Separate tallies for types within collections and total collections were made for each of these children also.

It should be noted that despite the existence of codings for sub-type, the data were not, in the end, computer-sorted on that basis. Instead, thank you letters, get-well letters, informing letters, etc. were considered "letters". Thus the computer sort contrasted six rather than 32 types. Practicality (cost of computer times and deadlines) was the prime basis for this consolidation, but there were others. For example, there were often too few instances of a sub-type at a given grade or in a given collection to compare with other sub-types

or with the same sub-type at different times or in different grades.

Regardless of the size or nature of the sub-set, the computer print outs for each sub-set were examined for high frequency categories and these were compared with such categories in another sub-set. For example, the most frequent "word class for code switches" on the Spanish language pieces were compared with those with highest frequency of occurrence on the English language pieces. Sub-categories that were interesting but infrequent (such as endings that were "nice") were not lost however. They were noted on both running lists and in a Myth Hunt, two other kinds of analyses for which each team was responsible.

The running lists were dated notes of impressions, kept during coding sessions. In both use and intent, they bear a strong resemblance to the "theoretical memos" described by Glaser (1978). The lists consisted of unique features of a piece of writing, hunches, future research questions, prime examples of categories, etc. The lists were helpful for interpreting the computer tallies. They also supplied some assistance in "The Myth Hunt".⁴

Certain ideas regarding writing, literacy, biliteracy, bilingual education, language arts instruction, etc. seemed to be contradicted by the assumptions and/or the data in this study. The intimacy with the data, engendered through the processes of category derivation and then data analysis, created two kinds of notations in the

running lists: ideas that, impressionistically, seemed to be refuted by "composites" of several remembered pieces of writing; and specific pieces of writing that were clear counter-examples of some conventional (or even scholarly) wisdom about writing, biliteracy, etc. These notations became a list of 30 myths (our term). The next step was going back through all the data and finding representative pieces that gave some justification for calling the idea "myths".

The four collections of writing from the three study classrooms were thus analyzed through: category derivation from immersion in the data; data coding using derived categories; computer-tallied frequency counts and comparisons of computer tallies among sub-sets of data; informal running lists of impressions while coding; and citation of pieces of writing that refute myths about writing and related topics.

The other writing data gathered in this study, that collected from other primary grade classrooms in this bilingual program, were analyzed in only one of these ways. This writing was re-written and examined (but not coded) with the coding categories and myths in mind. Informal running lists, again, of impressions, hunches, contrasts with the "official" collections of writing, etc. were made based on these examinations. These data were used to help construct the description of the contextual circle concerned with classroom practices. Occasionally,

they were used to illuminate a point regarding findings from the three classrooms chosen for this study.

Other Data

Community

Results of the language situation survey conducted by the District were summarized and then selectively recorded. This information contributed to the description of the community context. Demographic data from Arizona State Department of Economic Security figures, notes taken on conversations with community members, attendance at school board meetings and meetings with District administrators, and conversations between the Bilingual Program Director and various other members of the research team all entered into the partial portrait of the community and the administrative contextual layers.

Teacher/Aide Responses to Interviews

Interviews with the teachers and aides were tape recorded and also noted in longhand at the time of the interview. These notes, shored up by the tapes, revealed both agreements among interviewees and non-agreements (which does not necessarily imply disagreements). The interview responses helped uncover both Program philosophy and teacher/aide beliefs, which we considered a factor in classroom practices.

Classroom Observations

The catalogue of the print available in the three study classrooms was subdivided according to type (work-

books, kits, posters, signs, children's work, children's reference materials, teacher's reference books, textbooks and curriculum area series, and trade books) and language, and the number of each type in each language were tallied. Examples were also provided for the inferred (through observation) functions of the print environment.

Observers' notes on the language of the print actually used, the type and quantity of oral code-switching, the language information provided by adults in interactions focused on literacy, and children's behaviors during the writing of a piece were summarized across observers. The portrayal of the classroom practices circle of context depended to a great extent on these summaries.

Records

Means of test scores and tallies of special education referrals, attendance records, siblings' school status, and parental self-report of the child's language dominance, plus our personal histories over several years with some of the children, constituted the subjects' "educational history" context.

These, then, were the means for gathering and analyzing the data in this study of the development of writing in one bilingual program. While the findings on contexts and writing will be presented in separate chapters, each informed and to varying degrees depended on the other.

Notes

¹ To the extent possible while still being loyal to the intent to describe the contexts fully, the District and various personnel will remain anonymous or be given pseudonyms in this report.

² Two sources were used to help determine place and/or manner of articulation for this category. These were: Stockwell, R. & Bowen, J.D. The Sounds of English and Spanish. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965; and Quilis, A. & Fernandez, J. Curso de Fonética y Fonología Española. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Miguel de Cervantes, 1969.

³ The following source was used to aid in determining the category of community norms of Spanish. Sanchez, R. "Nuestra circunstancia lingüística." El Grito 6 . 45-74, 1972.

⁴ It was Jerome Earste that suggested that some of the findings be organized as refutations of literacy myths.

CONTEXTS

At some times of the year, thousands of blooming rose bushes line the road to the District Office. At other times, white puff balls of cotton ready for harvest create the illusion that a mischievous Nature has covered the ground with snow while leaving bare the nearby mountain tops. Another season treats one's nostrils to the smell of onions. This is Duncan School District, the largest contextual unit included in this study. From the definition of context that follows, the District need not have been the most macro of the contexts. Nevertheless, for practical reasons, it was.

"Context" has various meanings in the literature. It is a structure, connecting specific information to other knowledge, according to S. Smith (1979). "Situation", sometimes subordinate, sometimes equivalent to "context", is an abstract conception, a semiotic structure where meaning takes place, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976). In this study, context included all factors within the District or at the level of the State Department of Education or below which impinged in some way on the production or interpretation of a piece of writing. No definition was devised or borrowed. Instead, context was taken simply to include: the politico-socio-economic situation in the District; the community language situation; attitudes of administrators, other officials, and parents to the Bilingual Program; Program rhetoric; teachers' and

aides' conception of literacy in their own classrooms; classroom practices; educational history of the subjects' older siblings; and other events in the subjects' school lives.

- Many scholars have insisted that studies of educational achievement or development of concepts/processes in school must acknowledge contextual features of that achievement or development. Thus Ogbu (1981) criticizes educational microethnographies for failing to see that classroom patterns have origins outside the classroom and for consequently encouraging policy makers to think of personal rather than structural change. In Heath's (1981) description of two communities' different beliefs about characteristics of language interactions, she not only shows how these beliefs were used in the compositions of children but she also implies that language beliefs are always part of a language user's context and are always used during composing. While Graves lauds the shift in emphasis in writing research away from teacher and classroom and onto writer and writing processes (1980a), he also acknowledges, in his admonition to choose research sites with extreme care, the great impact teacher and classroom have on the developing writer as well as the writing (1979c). Shuy (1981) argues that writing is not writing is not writing, that participant rights and obligations differ in different style levels of writing (and, incidentally, that both educators and researchers erroneously view

beginning writing but not beginning speech in relation to the demands of non-interactional, formal, impersonal language use). Woodward too (1980) maintains that writing is not monolithic, that different writing tasks and contexts elicit tests of different hypotheses. It is possible then to infer from these scholars' works as well as from work cited in Chapter 1 that there is a need to at least describe ever-larger contextual units so that analyses explicitly acknowledge these contexts.

And Now to the Ever-Present Multi-Unit Context

The District Community

Duncan School District is a small one, serving 3,642 pupils in 1980; 623 of these were in the Bilingual Program in the 1980/81 school year although 1,669 had been identified as having limited English proficiency. The District is in a semi-rural area in northwest Greater Phoenix.

Until a special election in Spring, 1981, Duncan District actually had not one but three district communities within its borders: a small group of primarily Anglo farm owners/ranchers; a large group of Hispanic settled migrants and migrant farm worker families who worked in the onion, cotton, and cut flower fields; and a still larger retirement community developed by a major corporation. As a result of that election, the latter community is no longer within District boundaries.

In the year of the study, according to the latest figures available from the Arizona State Department of

Economic Security, there was a 23% unemployment rate in the District and 35.9% of the Hispanic families were below poverty level. Almost every Program student and 1,779 District students qualified for free or reduced rate lunches. Almost all of the children in the Bilingual Program (89%) were from low-income families. A Program-sponsored survey of Bilingual Program kindergartners' families found that 77% of these families were supported by field work or gardening. The average amount of schooling for the fathers was 4.1 years; for the mothers it was 3.7 years. None of the kindergarteners' parents were high school graduates and only two had finished 8th grade.

The farm work in the area was being increasingly mechanized. Thus many of the migrant adults were twice-migrants; migrating in and out of the District and also spending many of their days within the District traveling from farm to farm looking for places where by-the-day human work was still available. Many children went with their families "a las cebollas" (to the onion fields) each day and worked for three to four hours before they went to school.

A Bilingual Program-sponsored language situation survey was conducted with in-home interviews and observations in homes, stores, work and meeting places (Wellmeier, 1981). According to this survey, Spanish was overwhelmingly the language used in all adult-adult interactions. Children occasionally used English with and received

Spanish from adults or used both Spanish and English with each other. Over 60% of the parents interviewed who had kindergarten age children estimated their children's English proficiency to be poor or non-existent. More than half of the adults interviewed categorized themselves as monolingual Spanish speakers. Of the self-proclaimed monolinguals, two thirds had been born in Mexico. Though there was almost no "discourse" or "book" print found in homes, older family members reported that they wrote letters to relatives---and there was environmental print in all the homes (i.e., that found on packages). (It should be noted that not only availability of interaction with print-in-general but also with particular print has been found to affect children's knowledge of literacy. For instance, Ferreiro and Teberosky (n.d.) discovered, in the course of their work on children's acquisition of written language, that young children knew the letter Z better than any other consonant because Zorro was a popular TV cartoon character at the time of their research.)

Parents' initial luke-warm acceptance of but non-involvement with the Bilingual Program had turned into active, enthusiastic support by the 1980/81 school year. By that point, they were sending their children to school so regularly that Bilingual Program classes were winning District attendance trophies. Responses to a question on the language situation survey questionnaire showed that over 80% of the parents with children in the Program

said they were satisfied with their children's school. (Interestingly, when asked what the most important school subject was, many of these people said "writing". Exactly what was meant, and what relationship this response had to the Program's emphasis on writing is unclear.)

The history of parent involvement for this community within "The Community" is instructive. Prior to the existence of the Bilingual Program, there was no concession to the needs of the Hispanic parents. Parent Advisory Council meetings were held in the daytime and were conducted entirely in English. Only when the Hispanic children were put on stage as performers for entertainment at the meetings did parents attend. Without the enticement of performing offspring, Hispanic parents did not attend PAC meetings. With the advent of the Bilingual Program, a Bilingual PAC also came into existence. The scanty attendance at the first meetings that were now held in two languages quickly burgeoned. After two years of meetings held at night and conducted in Spanish and English, there was a realization that many of those in attendance did not speak English. At that point, the language of the meetings became Spanish unless someone present needed a translation. No longer were children in pageants offered up as gimmicks to attract an audience. Bilingual PAC meetings were simply meetings---and attendance in the 1980/81 school year averaged 25 per meeting. By contrast, PAC meetings for Title 1, a program that also served poor

Hispanic children of limited English ability, were during the daytime and in English. They attracted two to three parents per meeting, unless children entertained.

With much more widespread community involvement, through the Bilingual PAC, many more parents knew about school events. That they endorsed what they learned can be seen in the activities leading up to the "disassociation election" of May, 1981.

Duncan District voters in the retirement community (which does not admit residents with children) outnumbered the Hispanic voters and were thus able to elect a school board which opposed many aspects of bilingual education. Northwest side editions of the Arizona Republic, the daily newspaper with the largest circulation in Maricopa County, began printing frequent articles about the conflicts over bilingual education in Duncan District. Retirement community people accused Anglo ranchers of keeping Hispanics in servitude through their support of bilingual education. School board members denounced the Bilingual Program and asked, if my immigrant parents could make it in school without bilingual education, why do these children need it? . At several meetings preceding the call for a disassociation election, parents who got up at 3 AM to be in the fields by four came to the board meetings that began at 8 PM and sometimes lasted until midnight. Not just a few, but several hundred Program parents came to show their support for the Bilingual Program. After

a few such board meetings, these parents, whose own school histories were short, interrupted, and hardly successful, and who have been characterized as uninvolved and silent (silenced?), began to speak out in Spanish in favor of bilingual education. The Board's response? To disallow future speeches in Spanish from the floor and to move the next meeting to a spot that would hold fewer than 50 people! At that point, Bilingual Program parents demonstrated, worked with members of the other two communities, and took part in a coalition that managed to bring about the election which disassociated the retirement community from the District.

Administration

Administrators at the State Department, District, and school level affected activities and feelings of other adults in the Program. Whether directly or indirectly, these effects were most likely incorporated into interactions with or activities planned for children.

Several years ago, the State Department of Education mandated that local Districts would implement a cumulative uniform evaluation system (CUES). Though each system was local District-designed, each also entailed the use of a list of pre-specified, discrete and easily testable objectives. The State Department also required annual use of two standardized tests, the California Achievement Test (CAT) and the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). Although the Director of the Bilingual Program as well as

various consultants encouraged teachers in the Bilingual Program not to let the test dictate their own approach to literacy instruction and not to feel that they and the children had failed if scores on the English-only tests were low, teachers continued to voice their anxieties about this throughout the year. It hardly helped alleviate teacher stress when some District Office administrators told individual teachers they would hold them personally accountable for the students mastery of, for example, third person singular verb endings or capitals on proper nouns, while consultants and Program Director were pulling in the opposite direction, prevailing upon them to concentrate on content and to forget form until the final draft.

Blessedly, the Superintendent and the school principals were either supportive of or at least had a laissez-faire attitude toward the Bilingual Program. They generally allowed the Program's philosophy and curriculum to be developed by the Program Director. Despite an absence of Superintendent- or principle-applied pressures that, like the State Department pressures, contradicted the program being developed, some administrative policies might have interfered with the Program. Had they been implemented as planned, proposed policies on scheduling and teacher evaluation at one of the schools, for instance, would probably have had disastrous consequences for the Bilingual Program. Fortunately, the Director was able to drop other activities and spend days explaining the likely

consequences so that the policies were changed before they were implemented.

The administrative context was therefore an ambivalent one regarding the Bilingual Program. On the one hand, State level Bilingual Education administrators were genuinely in favor of substantively strong (not merely heavily funded) Bilingual education, and District administrators either helped or at least did not obstruct the Program. On the other hand, there were mandates for evaluating children and programs that pressured teachers to teach in ways that contradicted Program philosophy. Further, while administrative support enabled the Program Director to be free to design the Program, the development of administrative policies often kept the Director in a wary state, wondering where the next "brush fire" would be. It should be emphasized here that while the administrative context is presented here as more real than ideal, it was positively utopian in comparison with the "guerilla warfare" that some administrations wage on their bilingual programs (Fishman, 1980)!

The Bilingual Program Director was knowledgeable about current theories in educational/linguistics and literacy. She had a "biased" view of Bilingual Program children's language strengths (in contrast to the "biased" view of some curriculum workers elsewhere who assume that children's "language deficiencies" require narrow, small skill/discrete objective remedies). She was

overtly enthusiastic about the moves teachers had made toward increasing the "wholeness" of the literacy and language experiences they planned for children, taking every opportunity to praise teachers for such efforts. At the same time, she was an "uneven" teacher evaluator or curriculum supervisor, juggling the demands of a Directorship that was considerably more than one full-time job, and thus not having time to provide more than sporadic in-class help to teachers who were trying out a new approach to literacy instruction.

Philosophy/Rhetoric

Written documents, in-service training, and interaction with Program personnel reveal that the Program claimed or aimed to have certain characteristics. First, it favored a whole language approach to literacy and language development, (Goodman & Goodman, n.d.). That is, it advocated using whole discourses, texts that exist and function in the real world (e.g., a newspaper article, a novel, a recipe, grocery lists, a bumper sticker, conversation, etc.) as opposed to artificial pieces that exist only in school (e.g., a paragraph, a sentence, a word); and focusing on obtaining meaning (as a reader, a writer, or a speech event participant) through a variety of psychosocio-linguistic systems. Second, the Bilingual Program emphasized writing for real purposes to varied audiences and considered both writing and reading as essential parts of literacy. In conjunction with the integration of

all modes of language as contributing to literacy, the Program also advocated the general integration of curriculum areas. Third, it chose to begin and stay with direct literacy instruction in the native language until literacy was well-established (or until third grade) rather than to concurrently offer initial literacy instruction in two languages. At the same time, it favored choices by the child in regard to which language s/he would write and sometimes read in.

Classroom Practice

Classroom practices and teachers' beliefs regarding literacy, language distribution, writing, and curriculum matched philosophy in varying degrees. In 1980, looking at all primary grade classrooms in the Bilingual Program, it was evident that some Program teachers had only begun to put a toe into the waters that wash away small skills instruction and controlled, fill-in-the-blank writing. Others, however, were able to allow children considerable control over their choice of written genre and topics. Some integrated curriculum areas through projects while others maintained clear separations with a twenty minute period allotted to spelling, 15 minutes for handwriting, etc. In one classroom, it was difficult to find any writing other than that done on dittos/worksheets. There were teachers who consistently engaged children in types of entire discourse that exist outside of classrooms, such as real conversation, writer-initiated letters, stories,

jokes, interviews, etc. This was in contrast to other teachers who assigned artificial parts of discourse (e.g., paragraphs, sentences, words (Moffett & Wagner, 1976)), and classroom-only genres (e.g., impersonal journals, letters-to-no one, reports of an event to an audience who was present at the event, etc.). There were teachers who, by mid year at least, believed children could write beyond their knowledge of correct spelling, and in those classrooms children wrote stories, journals, letters. There were others, believing that writing was not possible until children could spell, whose students' rare pieces of writing consisted of close-to-correctly spelled lists of words or phonics-workbook-phrases (oso soso; amo a mi mamá; sopa popa, etc.).

Such contrasts provided a good example of an important research and educational issue highlighted by Hymes (1980); i.e., that different speech communities (or classrooms in this case) offer different degrees of fit between people's language abilities and opportunities for their use. In general, then, not only was there no perfect match between practice and rhetoric; there was also no consistency in the mismatch.

What follows is a more detailed picture, garnered from whole-day in-class observations by more than one observer, of six classrooms in this Program; three that did not provide the systematically collected writing data for this study and then the three that did. The purpose

of these thumbnail sketches of classrooms is to provide more strength to the statement that actual practice varied individually from Program intents.

Ms. A's first grade classroom had desks in straight rows and children were told to sit straight, raise their hands, talk only when it was their turn, etc. Ms. A was a native speaker of Mexican Spanish and lived outside the community. In her whole-class lessons, she tended to ask many questions in succession, often answering them herself before the children could. She organized the curriculum traditionally; i.e., into separate subject matter areas. The only code switching by adults or children that was observed in her classroom was inter-sentential, and seemed to be used for translation/language teaching (?) purposes (e.g., ya se bajó del tigre. He's off the tiger now.). On the playground, children used both intra- and inter-sentential switches in talk about games. In the classroom when children were addressed in English by either the Chicana or the Anglo observer, they responded in English, although the English responses seemed more slow in coming when they were to the Chicana.

Except for read-aloud stories that were in English for one group and Spanish for another (the two groups then changed places), all the print that was used by children was in Spanish in this classroom---books, signs, the teacher's writing on the board, and workbook pages. Ms. A seemed to have clear ideas about the content of a

"lesson" for phonics, spelling, etc. In these events, she took charge and directed the children, either orally or through the content of written exercises, through small steps of a process or a topic. When it came to following the Program's direction to emphasize writing, however, Ms. A. seemed like a different teacher. She often gave children relatively large blocks of time and a single direction. Sometimes the direction was somewhat limiting, such as to write responses to a particular movie. But other times they were as open-ended as write ---no topic, no assigned type---leaving the children in control. It was as though Ms. A. either had had no experience herself with writing in school or no instruction in the teaching of writing and so, without models to guide her but with a wish to comply with Program directives, she transferred control of that "lesson" time to the children. And it was in her classroom, among the first grades, that the widest range of types of writing and the most unusual hypotheses about intention-convention matches (Smith, 1982) were tried out. (Some of these will be presented in Chapter 5.))

Mr. B. taught second grade. He was a native speaker of Spanish and a member of the community. He too put desks in rows and asked that children raise their hands to talk. More peer talk was permitted in this classroom, but there were also many disciplinary remarks from the teacher and aide concerning the "goofing off" that a small number of children frequently engaged in. Most of

the children seemed unwilling to respond to the observers' invitations to talk. Mr. B. tried to elicit interest in classroom work by instilling a competitive element in many activities; e.g., the best papers would be put up on the wall; the best row of children could get in line first; the best invented recipe would be tried out, etc. When a child would read to the class or offered ideas, others did not seem to attend. Children seemed eager to go out for recess.

Mr. B. used Learning Centers with topical themes (food, animals, etc.) to organize curriculum. There was a separate reading time during which "skinny books" (stories cut out of basal readers, intended for use in an individualized reading program) were used for "round robin" reading. Mr. B. seemed to use more English than Spanish to the children, though both he and the children used frequent intra- and inter-sentential code switches (tienen que decir la palabra and then spell the word y decirla otra vez; I can touch the suelo from the board). When, in relation to writing however, a child asked for the spelling of a word that would be a code switched item in that text (e.g. contest in a Spanish piece), he offered concurso instead, seeming to hold different norms for acceptability of code-switching depending on mode (oral or written). Mr. B. seemed to delight in the language capabilities he sometimes spotted, such as the time when, a propos of nothing, Lourdes asked him to tell the class the story of how

carrots got their name. Taken aback, he had said he didn't know; Lourdes countered with Well then invent it up!

Print used in this room was mostly in English (library books, school forms and announcements, packages, text books), although most of the children's writing and Mr. B's writing on the board was in Spanish. Writing assignments were frequently related to past activities (e.g. write about what you did during recess) or to Learning Center Topics. During writing time, children frequently asked for spelling help. The aide would write out the requested word. She would also correct the spelling in the children's journals. Peers too gave information on spelling, sometimes in the form of hints; e.g., pointing to the Spanish alphabet strip in the front of the room, it's the third one (letter), the third one! Children also gave each other unrequested help such as warnings to leave enough space for the whole text. Children read their writing to Mr. B. who, in contrast to the number of writing interactions that concerned spelling, would make a positive general comment about the content or ask the writer to tell a little more about X.

Though children greeted writing assignments with a chorus of groans, Mr. B. reported that's nothing compared to what they do when I give them any other kind of assignment. His appraisal of their relative enjoyment of writing despite the verbal resistance was probably accurate since his children wrote spontaneously, invented complicated

stories, or attempted whole letters in English for the sake of their Anglo recipients.

The other non-research-study classroom that was observed was Mr. M's, also a native Spanish speaker and a member of the community. There were hand-raising norms for fewer situations in this room. There were also few directions given, yet children seemed to be engaged in purposeful school activity. Children, teacher and aide seemed to engage in many private, intimate, joking exchanges that often ended in laughter and hugs. The first disciplinary remark heard during any of the observation days (which began at 8:30 AM) occurred at 1:10 PM.

The class day seemed to be divided into subject matter areas; i.e., a huge block of time for writing; a time block for math, etc. Within the writing time, children did both assigned and also spontaneous writing (e.g., writing letters and "mailing" them to teacher, aide, or classmates who each had mailboxes in the classroom).

Mr. M. seemed to use more Spanish than English with this class he had characterized as full of monolinguals (Spanish speakers). Still, code-switching was frequent and both intra- and inter-sentential. Not only were codes switched but so too were sociolinguistic styles. When Alicia wrote letters to in-school addressees, she signed them tu amiga, Alicia (Your friend, Alicia). When she wrote to her aunt in Mexico, however, she used more elaborate closings such as su sobrina que quisiera más verla

cue escribirle (your niece who would rather see you than write to you), according to Mr. M. who had seen some of these letters. Mr. M. occasionally code-switched in writing, inter-sententially, on the blackboard.

Most of the commercially prepared print that was used in this classroom was in English, although children flipped through library books in each language and even slowed down and read them aloud sotto voce, as if for a display of competence, when the observer stood behind them. A Walt Disney filmstrip and audio tape of Paul Bunyan, with an actor impersonating a Scandinavian accent and with content relying on puns was presented to these children who did not laugh or change expression when English speaking adults, at least, would have.

Children argued with each other over spelling and gave advice (as did the aide) to sound it out. Several proudly shared with another child his/her own response to a problem Mr. M. had posed for them to resolve in writing. Children asked a child author to clarify the content of what she had written, as did Mr. M. when children read their work to him. On one observation day, two boys were involved in a truly collaborative story writing event. Mr. M. repeated that the two had worked on a collaborative story the previous week that had taken several days to complete. A few pieces of children's writing were "published" during the year; i.e., they were typed by an adult (with most, but not all words spelled conventionally

and with a mix of Spanish and English punctuation), bound, and put in the class library. In Mr. M.'s room, children wrote complaints, threats, and apologies in letters to the teacher and to the aide. That is, as Shuy (1981) advocates, Mr. M. had made it possible for children to write interactively and functionally. In this classroom also, the writing events (e.g., letter-to-teacher and response-from-teacher, creation of invented story with many episodes, etc.) often lasted for several days.

The three classrooms designated as "the study classrooms" were as widely varying as those just described. Writing instruction within them did not vary according to the social status of the students, as Hendrix (n.d.) reported about the writing instruction given to enlisted men vs. officers or to clerks vs. buyers vs. executives. Instead, it varied for a number of reasons this study did not sort out but which seem to relate to the teacher. Others have looked for contrasting teacher theories about literacy (DeFord, 1981; Harste & Burke, 1977) and contrasting teacher-developed classroom environments (Graves, 1975; Birnbaum, 1980) to see how these affect children's literacy development. We did not set out with such contrasts in mind. But we found them.

In the first grade study classroom there was usually a hum of voices and children were busy with school work. The classroom rules of Ms. D., a non-native speaker of Spanish who lived outside the community and of Ms. De.,

her native Spanish speaking aide who was a community member, included license to move around the room and converse with peers. In mid year, a writing center had been established with a variety of kinds of paper and different writing implements (pens, pencils, colored markers, crayons, etc.) to which children could go when space allowed and assignments were finished.

At the beginning of the school year, Ms. D. reported that mornings were taken up with taking dictation from children, children labeling pictures, and working in phonics workbooks. By Spring, the schedule had changed. In the mornings, children now wrote in journals for a good part of the morning. During story time, children's stories would be read in addition to published texts. At such times, Ms. D. would comment on particular aspects of the content she wanted other children to begin to use. According to Ms. D., the best way to move children along in writing was to indicate what constitutes progress by publicly praising and identifying a "next step" in another child's piece of work.

Ms. D. seemed to use about as much Spanish as English in her interactions with the children, though not with the aide. Frequent code-switching was observed by both the children and adults, and much delight was evidenced as teacher and aide recounted stories of how inventive with language some of the children were.

Most of the print in use in the classroom was in Spanish, including the Spanish phonics workbooks that were used as stories. Occasionally, if a child selected an English book for looking up something, teacher or aide suggested that a Spanish reference be used instead. The print environment observations found many more English than Spanish library books.

Ms. D's comments to children who showed her their writing often took the form of requests for more information (e.g., a child who had written about how much she liked her house was asked to tell Ms. D. what her house looked like, so Ms. D. could picture it even if she were blind). With "better students", Ms. D. said she gave direct instruction sometimes in the use of certain punctuation marks during conferences about a piece of writing.

In this classroom, certain types of writing were physically differentiated. Journals were always written in stapled together packets of lined paper with a colored paper cover. Books were of pre-stapled rather than loose papers.

Interviews revealed that both teacher and aide believed writing would help teach children to read, that because children would be more actively involved when writing their own material, they would learn more, be in a learning mode rather than a practicing or pleasing-the teacher mode. At mid-year, Ms. D. realized she could, in her words, take the lid off, that her children could

probably do more than she realized and that her assignments allowed. Thus the construction of the writing center and the decreased (but still present) emphasis on phonics workbooks. Ms. D. reported that in addition to the writing we had collected, children wrote on stable spots on the blackboard---names of who was to go to recess, lists of items needed for particular events, etc.

Both these adults saw writing as being able to enhance the children in the teacher's eyes and writing development as meaning increased legibility, a move away from safe topics and safe syntactic frames (me gusta X, me gusta Y, me gusta Z), a shift toward being able to write without talking it all out first, an increased involvement of the writer with the piece.

This teacher believed she was giving children a choice when, after a discussion, she would ask them if they would like to do a story about the discussion topic. Perhaps children took that as a true offer of a choice; perhaps not. But real choice in writing was available at the writing center in this classroom--the only one of the three to offer children this opportunity with any frequency.

The second grade classroom was taught by Ms. C., a non-native speaker of Spanish who lived outside the community, and her aide, Ms. G. a native Spanish speaker who lived in the District. This classroom also had a hum of voices. There was very little teacher talk directed to the whole class. Instead, adult and child usually inter-

acted on an individual basis. Like the children in Mr. M's class, these children did not receive any disciplinary comments until almost 2 PM on the days they were observed. Before that, they were cooperative with each other, relatively quiet, and steadily engaged in doing the assignments for the day. They were eager to talk with observers and to read their writing to them. Something occurred during the observation days which was quite revealing of the climate of interpersonal caring that had been established in this classroom. Two first graders came in to read a lengthy story they had written. Even after 15 minutes of halting, flat intonation, "first grade style" reading, these second graders sat quietly, facing the readers even if their attention might have wandered. Children seemed to prefer to stay in and write rather than go out for recess. Observers' notes frequently mention the "non-teacher talk" quality of Ms. C's talk to the children as well as her efforts to make them responsible for solving housekeeping, social, and academic problems.

The adults used more English than Spanish, while children seemed to use slightly more Spanish than English in this room. Both code-switched intra- and inter-sententially with great frequency.

On the observation days, there were some children who seemed to only cut, paste, and draw almost all day, with an occasional nod to doing three assignments. The others' interest was sustained all day by writing assignments

that constituted the day's work. Usually, according to both teacher and aide, the day consisted of time to write in diaries, time to read and do book reports, an "oral language activity" that was connected to social studies or science, reading conferences, and math. It is possible that this teacher tried to please the researchers who were interested in writing by presenting days full of writing and little else. It is also possible that reading conferences and math occurred rarely because the children enjoyed the writing/drawing/pasting so much. In any case, the "usual" schedule, as Ms. C. and Ms. G. each described it, was not in evidence on the observation days.

Several issues related to trade books (library books) provided interesting glimpses into actual school life. The discrepancy between what adults think is happening and what happens from an outsiders' perspective was apparent in relation to reading and doing book reports, which was also a part of the other second grade classrooms' activities. The children were given dittoed book report forms that asked them to fill in author and title, to check if they did or did not like the book, to fill in a line or two on something about the book, and to draw about it. By filling out a certain number of forms, children received an award. What seemed to have happened was that children filled out a form without reading the book, that form accumulation substituted for interaction with the text. From what was observed, it seemed that despite Ms. C's pleasure in the

number of books her children had "read" as evidenced by the number of forms they had filled out, there was very little demand on these children to read anything but their own writing.

Another discrepancy: the Program Director had spent considerable funds in obtaining children's literature in Spanish. These books were placed in the library. The librarian, however, insisted that the children should be reading in English and therefore did not permit checking out Spanish books. Ms. C. had circumvented this state of affairs by checking the Spanish books out herself for her classroom. Nevertheless, both the print environment and the print-in-use observations showed that there were more English library books in the room than Spanish and more that were flipped through if not actually read.

When children wrote, they also did a variety of other things: talked with neighbors about what they were writing and also about unrelated topics and helped each other sound out words (an interesting example was Rosa, orally breaking a word into syllables for Perlinda who wrote it with conventional segmentation even though one of her favored types of unconventional segmentation was leaving spaces between syllables). Conferences in this classroom consisted of child reading to teacher and teacher asking child for oral elaborations on the content. Ms. C. reported that she once asked some children to write down the elaborations; i.e., to do content revisions, but

some cried, so I didn't do that again.

Ms. C. believed that writing got children's minds going, that children asked better questions (e.g., about subjects rather than procedures) since she started emphasizing writing, that writing forces them to think. She and Ms. G. saw writing development as a move from basal reader language to an individual style, from re-telling to inventing stories, from the writing of fragments to complete thoughts, and away from the use of repetitive phrases. By the time they were interviewed (during the fourth collection period), each thought children could go into a slump from too much writing. Conversations during the second and third collection times, however, revealed that both Ms. C. and Ms. G. thought at that time that longer was better. Thus they encouraged and received "too much writing" (e.g., 27 page pieces with nearly 13 pages of repetition). This was the only one of the three study classrooms where a few children appeared to regress in some of the areas of writing that were analyzed. We have no way of knowing if this was related to particular attributes of the children, to attention diverted to other aspects of writing for which we had no evidence, or to their considerable lack of involvement with published and conventional print during the year. It was also in this classroom that the deepest understanding of social studies and science material was evidenced in children's writing.

Ms. S., a non-native Spanish speaker who lived outside the community, was aided by Ms. G., who was native Spanish speaking and lived in the community. While much in Ms. C.'s room was individually directed, Ms. S. conducted many lessons with the whole class. The day was organized to provide for journal writing, "seat work" on social studies or science, a writing assignment, reading groups working in workbooks, math worksheet activities, use of the health textbook, and some time for finishing up assignments (which were almost always to be completed in one day). It was observed that children in this class groaned with the announcement of each assignment, that they raced to recess, that they received many reprimands about both behavior and the quality of their classroom work.

Ms. S. used mostly English with the children, though there were frequent inter-sentential switches or translations into Spanish, seemingly for the purpose of ensuring comprehension. Ms. S. did not use many intra- or inter-sentential switches. Ms. G., however, used both intra- and inter-sentential switches, as did the children to each other and to the adults.

Ms. S. and Ms. G. provided various kinds of information about language as children wrote. As a resource for spelling, they put presumably needed words on the board before children began to write. Many assignments began with an opening paragraph provided by the teacher. Ms. S. directed children to stay in one style of script (either

manuscript or cursive) and to produce work of a certain length (number of pages were cited).

Some writing was done during group work time. During those sessions, a group of children was also "walked through" the writing each was doing. That is, questions were asked section by section, to direct the sequence of topics in the pieces. After a piece was finished, it was often adult-corrected for spelling and syntax (if in English) and then sometimes re-copied. The print environment and the print-in-use observations showed that, except for the children's writing, English was the written language of the classroom.

Both teacher and aide believed that writing made the children seem more capable to the adults than children from previous years had seemed, that a great quantity of writing made children take greater care not to make errors in spelling and punctuation, that children now seemed more confident about their own competence and more inclined to relate information from one subject matter area to another. What counted as development differed for each child, according to both Ms. S. and Ms. G., but each thought it included at least an increasing use of conventional structures (for stories), an increase in the number of different ideas in a piece, and an absence of repetition. It was in this classroom that children wrote the barest bones kinds of facts when they wrote about social studies material, where pieces from different children were

extraordinarily similar in organization and content if not in wording. In this classroom also, however, there were pieces that revealed great expressive capabilities.

In summary, while there were certainly features of each classroom that did not fit a "whole language approach to literacy", each of the three study teachers and aides must be applauded for the giant strides they took toward practice that was more like that called for in various theoretical statements on writing and language development (see Harste & Burke, 1980; Moffett & Wagner, 1976; Urzúa, 1980; Lindfors, 1980). Though they were idiosyncratically "imperfect", each of the three classrooms:

- 1) had children writing more than an hour per day, frequently about topics they had personal knowledge of
- 2) delivered literacy instruction in Spanish (and in English at the third grade level)
- 3) permitted children to choose the language they wrote in and read in during "free time"
- 4) accepted all topics (none were taboo)
- 5) established journal writing time
- 6) sent letters that were written
- 7) accepted at least some unconventional forms (e.g., some invented spelling, unconventional segmentation, etc.)
- 8) provided for some sharing of writing with peers
- 9) had a teacher and aide who said they believed that content superceded form in what constitutes good/bad writing (e.g., good writing was done by a writer who takes risks, who does not merely repeat, who provided more and better ideas, whose message is legible, etc.)
- 10) had a teacher and aide who believed that an emphasis on writing had improved children's reading, had

increased their self-confidence and oral expressiveness. (the children appeared to question more and act more on their own behalf), had elevated the teacher's or aide's own perception of the children (they were seen as more capable than children had seemed in past years), and had made teaching more interesting for the teacher.

• Moreover, some but not all of the adults:

- 1) had established an environment in which children controlled their own writing some of the time
- 2) allowed more invented forms and attended to content to a greater degree
- 3) allowed various physical conditions for writing (the floor, rugs, outside, singly, in pairs, interrupted, at-one-sitting, etc.)
- 4) held occasional conferences during which the content of a piece was praised or some suggestion was made for writing another piece
- 5) held occasional conferences for direct teaching of a punctuation convention
- 6) gave language information that cued a child's attention to both referential and social meaning (e.g., distinguishing between querido and estimado in letters)
- 7) could recall and introspect about their growth as writing teachers
- 8) unfortunately, presented without any sensitive accompanying discussions, books and audio-visual materials that many people feel perpetuate racist stereotypes (e.g., Little Black Sambo).

However, they did not:

- 1) establish a need and demand for children to interact with a great variety of published (and therefore conventional), whole texts. According to Smith (1982), it is wide reading rather than writing that presents the systems of written language that must be acquired
- 2) "publish" selected works; therefore, there was no real need for children to self-evaluate their own texts to decide on what would be published, no need for content revision or for a conventional published copy

- 3) do extensive reading aloud from children's literature in Spanish. Interaction with written literature is what gives one a feel for the cadence of written narrative (Smith, 1982)
- 4) hold conferences in which peers or adults questioned the writer on the meaning of a text in order to develop an internal anticipation of a reader's needs in relation to writer's intent.

Print Environment

The available print, what we have called the print environment, was a part of the classroom that deserves separate discussion. Through arrangement and location, printed materials seemed to be available for several different purposes in addition to the one of being a vehicle for instruction and evaluation. Purposes identified were:

- 1) to encourage writing by motivating the writer; e.g., books, pictures, charts displayed to entice children regarding that topic; displaying children's work as a reward for the writers
- 2) to model certain forms or writing techniques; e.g., using children's work as samples for others to examine
- 3) to encourage an awareness of environmental print.
- 4) to demonstrate the functionality of print; e.g., displaying lists of needed supplies, office memos conveying information, etc.
- 5) to promote an understanding that thought can take form in written work; e.g., brainstorming charts remaining from brainstorming sessions
- 6) to demonstrate that print can designate categories and differentiate space; e.g., classroom signs over particular areas or groupings
- 7) to display a relation between oral and written language; e.g., printed stories accompanied by taped renditions

- 8) to promote the idea that writing is a form of entertainment as well as a means for expressing the self; e.g., diaries, story books
- 9) to convey the idea that writing can be shared with others.

Table 8 provides a count of the materials that were found in the three study classrooms.

Table 8

Types of Materials Constituting the Print Environment

<u>Type of Material</u>	<u>Grade 1</u>		<u>Grade 2</u>		<u>Grade 3</u>	
	Sp	Eng	Sp	Eng	Sp	Eng
Miscellaneous (signs, posters, children's work, flashcards, sentence strips, ditto sheets, games, etc.)						
# of different types	9	15	9	8	7	11
# of commercially-produced types	3	14	7	8	5	9
Workbooks and Kits						
# of sets	9	10	2	6	3	10
# of Types of Reference Materials (atlases, dictionaries, almanacs, etc.)	2	3	2	2	1	2
# of Books Used for Reference by the Teacher (adult dictionary, sociological texts about this population, methods texts, etc.)	0	10	1	1	0	0
Textbook Series (basal reader series, multiple copies of social studies texts, etc.)	17	9	4	8	3	7
Trade Books						
# of sets	9	1	5	2	1	0
# of single copies	7	69	16	34	0	2

It is important to note at least two points in regard to such a summary. First, the table, following as it does on a description of the different classrooms and displaying classroom differences in quantities of materials, might encourage the inference that teachers were completely responsible for the differential quantities. That there were fewer textbook or basal series in each higher grade and that there were more English than Spanish materials in all grades was as much if not more a function of availability than it was of individual teacher choice. That is, all the materials in Spanish had to be obtained starting with the advent of the Bilingual Program in the 1970's. The supply of English materials, of course, had been accumulating since well before that time. The greater variety of materials in first grade but not third reflects a similar disparity in the market.

Secondly, presence does not mean use, which was the reason for mentioning print-in-use in the classroom descriptions. For instance, despite more English print in the first grade classroom, more Spanish print appeared to be in use. And despite more printed materials available in second than third grade, more seemed to be used, if grudgingly and for narrow purposes, in third grade.

The Written Context

Context in this study referred to that which accompanied a piece and also to that which was part of a piece. Here I mean such things as language of the piece, materials

used during production, audience and recipient, "genre" or type, and the instigator of a piece. Variation in each of these factors have been examined to see what other text attributes co-vary. Though for some purposes, these factors might be considered part of text rather than context (e.g., red marked vs. black penciled marks; small vs. large letters due to small vs. large paper; letter vs. story), there is considerable justification in the research literature to consider them here as tightly tied-to-text contextual features.

Pratt's (1977) claim that literature is a context, for instance, that what we deem to be literature creates obligations upon us as readers to wait longer to let the author/speaker come to the point, that knowledge that a text is literature is a context for dealing with that text—such an argument can also be made for considering "type" a context for the writing of these children. When everyone (teacher, author, researcher) knew a piece to be a letter rather than a journal, that knowledge accompanied the text as con-text. Also, Pratt argues that genre in literature is signalled through bookcover, advertising, publishing house, etc. Similarly, types of writing in some classrooms were signalled by non-text features. Journals, for example, were always written on lined 8½ x 11 inch newsprint stapled together and covered with a piece of colored paper.

Harste (1980c) and Coles and Goodman (1980) have considered materials used for a piece as a part of context since they have been shown to affect the print decisions a child makes. (Crayons, for instance, elicited pictures while pencils seemed to call for writing among three year olds.) Many kindergarten and first grade teachers have reported that big pencils with no erasers affect types of early revision. And Hymes' (1970) proposal for various factors of speech events could be extended to "factors of writing events" where form of the text co-varies with variation in participants, codes, channel, definition of the situation, etc. Different kinds of paper (oversized, small and cut into shapes, unlined vs. lined) was a factor in variation in writing in the first and second grade collections. Different writing implements had to be considered in the first grade samples. Table 9 shows, by grade, the number of pieces which had various tightly-tied contextual features.

Table 9

Number of Pieces^{*} with Particular Contextual Features

<u>Language</u>	<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>	<u>Grade X</u>
Sp	173	180	75	34
Eng	8	8	31	2
<u>Assigned</u> Yes	157	185	108	37
No	30	4		
<u>Type</u> Expository	35	86	76	26
Letter	15	63		
Story	22	26	34	9
Journal	113	21		
Book	6	7	1	
Signature	8	1		2
Caption	1	1		
Poetry		1	3	2
Other				3
<u>Audience</u> + character in text				1
in-school adult				20
in-class child or pet				2
out-of-class child				20
out-of-class adult				18
teacher as direction giver				428
teacher as related-to- Other				2
general				33

* All pieces were not always tallied and some were tallied twice. Therefore, totals will not always be 524, which was the number of pieces analyzed. That is, pieces that were only signatures were not coded as either language; some pieces were coded as both letters and also expository

reports, etc.

⁺The computer sortings that were obtained do not allow for a grade-by-grade breakdown of audiences. These figures thus represent the total for all grades.

As Table 9 makes clear, the typical piece was in Spanish, was prompted by the intentions of the teacher rather than the writer, was expository (and usually a report), and was written for an audience of the teacher as a giver of directions. Table 9 also shows that there was another language, another instigator, other types, and other audiences. Contrasts in features of the pieces varying among these contextual attributes will be presented in Chapter 5.

Children's Background Factors

And who were the children? Some of the researchers have known some of them and their siblings since they started school. A bit of who these children are can be found in some of their more "institutional" contacts with the school. Because we believe a child comes to school with certain expectations based on her/his family's experiences with school among other factors, we collected information that is summarized in Table 10.

Table 10

Background Information on Subjects*

School Status of Siblings (total siblings for 17 Ss= 93)

younger	28
older, still in school	37
older, graduated	8
older, dropped out	20

Special Education Referrals

on our Ss	1 (4% of 26 Ss)
on our Ss older siblings still in school	9 (24% of 37)

Parents' Self-report of Child's
Primary Language (18 reporting)

Spanish	16
English	2

Number of Ss with Evidence of Minimal
Literacy for Parent (e.g., signed
form with X, "drew" first name, got
a neighbor to fill out form etc.)
(17Ss with forms filled out by parents)5

Attendance for 26 Ss

Days absent	0-5	12
	6-10	5
	11-15	5
	16-20	3
	21-25	1

*Complete records on all 26 Ss were not available. For
some, there were no school registration forms, for others
there were incomplete test scores, for others there was
no sibling information. _____

Means for scores on the Bilingual Syntax Measure appear in Table 11.

Table 11

Means for BSM Scores

	English		Spanish	
	Sept.	April	Sept.	April
<u>Grades 1</u>	2.67	3.11	4.33	4.67
<u>2</u>	3.78	4.33	4.67	5.0
<u>3</u>	3.5	4.83	4.83	5.83
<u>X</u>	1.0	1.0	6.0	5.5

Means on the California Achievement Test, an English test, are given in Table 12.

Table 12

Means of CAT Scores

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Sub-Test</u> (# in parenthesis is # of scores available)			
	Reading Comprehension	Reading Total	Language	Math
<u>1</u>	1.6 (5)	1.4 (3)	.5 (2)	1.92 (9)
<u>2</u>	1.6 (7)	1.27 (7)	1.36 (7)	1.87 (7)
<u>3</u>	3.18 (6)	2.93 (6)	3.2 (6)	4.02 (6)
<u>X</u>	1.75 (2)	1.65 (2)	1.7 (2)	3.15 (2)

What all of this means, in combination with the earlier reported average years of schooling for some parents in the Bilingual Program, is that these children did not have a family history of success in school or in literacy in particular. Still, with participation in the Bilingual Program, fewer were seen as "below normal" (i.e., they were not referred for special Education as often as

their siblings). Most attended school regularly. On a test of language proficiency (actually, of morpheme use under particular conditions) scores increased over the course of the year. The standardized achievement test is included here for some readers who might be interested. We are not among them. There were too many confounding factors in addition to those associated with any standardized test (Edelsky et al, 1980) to put any faith in these means, the ranges, or the individual scores. For instance, for some of these means, over 60% of the subject pool was not included because no scores were available. Moreover, the first and second graders had never been exposed to any exercises in English.

These then were the contexts for writing development among these 26 children---a socio-economic context, a political one, a community language situation, an administrative context, program rhetoric and actual classroom practice contexts, features that were contextual at a specific text production level, and a context of child/familial educational background factors. It is our position that some of the contexts were positive, some negative in terms of enhancing the development of writing, but neither the purpose nor the design of the study allows many confident statements about which were which. What can be said with certainty, however, is that they were always present, impinging in some degree, that at least some of them always had to be acknowledged in the analysis

of any piece of writing. Moreover, the relationship between writing and contexts was reciprocal. That is, the children's writing also affected the contexts. For instance, teachers reported that their beliefs and practices changed as they saw the capabilities children displayed; some parents reported surprise and pleasure that their children were writing at home; others were horrified by invented spellings. In other words, a reflexive system existed that we saw through the lens of writing development. To have looked at the writing without the rest would have been to miss part of the essence of the object of our investigation---it occurs in a situation, functions pragmatically, and is affected by and can affect one or more realities.

THE MYTH AND THE REALITY

People have "theories" about the world (Smith, 1975) and "theories" about literacy (Harste & Burke, 1977; DeFord, 1981). These theories, both the more and the less adequate ones, guide perceptions, plans, and actions. Whether systems of beliefs and knowledge that establish expectancies and influence decisions (Harste & Burke, 1977) should be dignified with the label of theory is a question for another discussion. This one, however, will concern not labels for but notions in those systems of beliefs, notions that seem to have fairly broad acceptance among educators yet whose particulars are not subject to critical inquiry. That is, this Chapter will focus on the theories that are "myths" according to a dictionary definition of myth (Random House Dictionary of English Language, 1973).

As members of the research team derived categories for and coded the writing data and interviewed the teachers and aides, certain pieces of writing or statements made during the interviews suggested, by the sharpness of the contradiction they presented, a myth which the writing or statement countered. As discussed in Chapter 2, we collected these myths, all of them having been listed in response to only one bit of data, and then went through the data again, purposefully looking for other counter-examples for each of the myths on the list. The Preface to this report presented counter examples for one of the myths: that our subjects were language deficient. This

Chapter will present 20 other myths along with evidence that counters the substance of the myths. Many of them will already seem patently false to the readers of this report; that is, it may appear that we have erected "straw people" against which we emerge victorious. However, the influence of these myths can still be seen in many curriculum guides, textbooks, workbook series, and teacher preparation programs. The counter evidence presented here then may be useful to disbelievers in their discussions with those who still subscribe to these beliefs.

Now it is also possible to substantiate, not refute, many of the same myths with these data. There are plenty of examples, for instance, that show lack of concern for a reader, writing that appears to be speech written down, similarities in one child's writing across contexts, etc. But there are also counter examples---and for some myths, there are only counter examples among our data.

While the number of counter examples is important for some purposes, for others it is irrelevant. If, as Harste (1980a) claims, examination at close range of a single concrete case can illuminate the adequacy of a theory, then the single contradictory case should at least force the questioning of a myth. And with many contradictory cases, the myth should become highly suspect. Of course, whether a myth is common and prevailing is more related to external factors than intrinsic adequacy. Thus, I am not proposing that myth-questioning will lead to the destruction of

present myth/"theory"-guided practices. Still, thoughtful readers might find these helpful in their own efforts to change practice and "theory: or even to change THEORY.

The myths, categorized and countered by a summary statement from these data, appear in Table 13. Table 13 is actually an abstract of this entire Chapter. Following the Table, each myth will be restated, the counter claim will be explained and samples of the evidence will be supplied. It is important to remember that the examples cited as refutations are only a part of the examples the data yielded. Space limitations preclude presentation of all the evidence.

Table 13

Myths Countered by These Data

Myths about Language Proficiency

1. these children are language deprived
vs. the data show they had language strengths
2. children's errors are random or show deficiencies
vs. "errors" were often sensible
3. young writers are insensitive to the needs of the audience
vs. the writers often showed audience sensitivity
4. young writers are insensitive to text demands
vs. writers showed sensitivity to text demands
5. bilingualism, especially among speakers of two non-standard dialects, is a limitation
vs. bilingualism increased writers' options for meaning
6. literacy is constant across contexts (when you've got it, you've got it)
vs. contextual and textual variations co-occured

Myths about Biliteracy and Bilingual Education

1. beginning literacy or language acquisition in Spanish and then adding English leads to confusion or interference in English literacy and language acquisition
vs. L1 literacy was applied in L2 literacy and the two were kept separate in certain ways
2. Spanish is graphophonically regular and therefore phonics instruction in Spanish results in consistent spellings and "correct decodings"
vs. a variety of bases were used for inventing unconventional spellings in Spanish
3. interaction with a small amount of conventional print in Spanish provides sufficient information about the nature and function of Spanish print
vs. more interaction with conventional and functional Spanish print was needed
4. in order to read and write in a language one must be orally and aurally fluent in it; the only appropriate learning and instructional sequence is listening, speaking, reading and writing
vs. the different Language Arts were used according to need and desire rather than in some predetermined sequence; children wrote in English prior to choosing to speak it
5. professional preparation concerned with bilingual education is only for people who will teach in bilingual education classrooms
vs. children's writing exhibited features that required, in the observer, a bilingualism-sensitive eye for adequate analysis

Myths about Research on Writing

1. researchers can understand a product without knowing the context of its production
vs. knowledge of context was crucial in order to put features of written samples into proper perspective
2. researchers can/should look at writing as separate from talking
vs. it was necessary to look at both oral and written modes as part of the production of a single text
3. the written event is simple and easy to explain
vs. the event is complex and requires good observation of writing as it occurs in order to explain the event and the piece of writing

Myths about the Teaching of Writing (or Literacy)

1. learning comes from teaching
vs. many features of children's written pieces could not be traced to direct instruction
2. form (e.g., phonics rules, journal structure, etc.) must be attended to before and in preference to content
vs. explicitly taught forms could interfere with both form and content
3. sense of audience is a discrete skill which should be taught at a particular grade level
vs. sense of audience was a perspective developed from on-going interactions
4. writing is sufficient for the development of writing
vs. what happened to a piece during and after it was written had impact on writing development
5. teachers prefer children to obediently follow their directions about writing
vs. teachers wanted children to follow the directions teachers meant to give but didn't

Myths about Learning to Write

1. growth in writing (literacy) is a linear accretion of discrete skills
vs. growth was a reorganization resulting from having orchestrated multiple cuing systems
2. reading, writing, speaking, meaning, syntax, etc. are separate systems or processes, compartmentalized in a language user's head
vs. children had a common pool of meanings that was tapped into for expression in different languages or different modes
3. there is one pattern of writing development and all children go through it
vs. patterns existed at the process and most general-product levels; particular hypotheses and shifts in writing emphases over time were often idiosyncratic
4. the print learner (or listener) is a passive creature who "receives" a message
vs. print assignments were offers in a contract which the child negotiated; the literacy learner was an active sense-maker/meaning-generator

5. writing is a solitary activity
vs. writing was social
6. a neat, conventionally spelled and punctuated piece of writing was better than a messy, unconventionally spelled/punctuated piece
vs. neat and conventional pieces were often worse as compositions
7. the job of the child becoming literate is to learn skills to mastery
vs. the child's job was to construct hypotheses
8. written elements or parts of text structure are either present or absent in a piece of writing
vs. elements could be present but not in the expected place in the text
9. exploratory behavior with print stops after the earliest writing (i.e., after "scribbling")
vs. it was evident through third grade
10. beginning writing is speech written down
vs. writing differed from the children's speech in several ways
11. in considering direction of control or who controls what, it is the writer who controls the text
vs. the text sometimes took over and controlled the writer

Myths about Language Proficiency

1. These children are language deprived.

Counter evidence was supplied in the Preface

2. Children's errors are random or show deficiencies.

The fact that the research team could infer reasons for the children's errors shows that they were sensible; i.e., that they were not random and that they were sometimes the result of a child's deliberate efforts to make sense of/connect various ideas. The non-random character of some "errors" was seen in spelling inventions. Children made use of visual information in spelling (Msr for Mrs).

No other likely explanation holds for including the r. Phonetic categories (respectively, nasals were considered part of vowels, one nasal could substitute for another) were used in tabien and tanbien for también. Children who spelled que as cue were using past visual input for the u and phono-grapheme information for the c. A spelling strategy of elongating a word while spelling it (so-ou-nn-ding it out) probably accounted for the ll in tenilla for tenfa.

If spelling "errors" were not random, neither were invented punctuation patterns that carefully placed a period at the end of every line (basal readers, whose sentences are often only one line long, would have many pages where each line ended with a period), or a capital at the start of each line or hyphens between words. Neither was the unconventional segmentation that put spaces between syllables (es ta ba for estaba) or that clustered together conventionally separated pronouns and nouns (megusta for me gusta) which are conventionally connected under certain syntactic conditions (e.g., when the verb is an infinitive as in gustarme). And neither was the substitution of apache for mapache (raccoon) in a story retelling, illustrated with a teepee and three human figures, about two blind men and their conflicts with a mischievous character identified by the child as un apache. (In the original, the rascal is a raccoon, un mapache.) Since all lived in the woods and since the topic of the Social

3. Young writers are insensitive to the needs of their audiences.

(1) Estimada Maestra
Nosotros tenemos
Paroyn y Es Muy
Buena para
los dientes de Nosotros
y tambien
tenemos Cacha
Con Bejates
y Gaviola y
Ain Con Ajo

atrás →

over $\rightarrow$

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as in (2), a get well letter that extolled the happy consequences that befell the virtuous good-patient/writer.

(2) Querido Mr. G.,
Yo le mando esta carta con mucho cariño y ojalá que te alivies pronto y que tengas un día bien bueno y que no te salgas de la cama. Nomás cuando te alivies entonces sí te puedes salir de la cama y también ve a mirar un doctor y que tomes medicina. Y yo te mando muchos saludos y también y yo estaba malo también y me dieron medicina y me alivié y ahora estoy en la escuela con mis amigos y la maestra.
Tu amigo,
Eddie

(Dear Mr. G.,
I am sending you this letter with much affection and I hope you get better soon and that you have a nice day and that you don't get out of bed. Only when you get better, then you can get out of bed and also to see a doctor and to take medicine. And I send you many get well wishes also and I was sick too and they gave me medicine and I got better and now I'm in school with my friends and the teacher.
Your friend,
Eddie)

One second grade girl read a piece written in Spanish to the monolingual English speaking principal. She spontaneously translated into English, for his benefit, what she had written.

Children knew the difference between the "real" and the ostensible audiences in many of the pretend-functional pieces they were assigned. For instance, children were often assigned to write letters, motivated by the teacher's rather than the author's intentions. A prime example of such pretend-functional assignments were directions to write a letter of invitation and also to report to the addressee all the writer knew about the current Social

Studies topic. Though the letters would most often be sent to the addressee, their first and probably most influential audience was the teacher. Teachers also gave assignments for children to write, for the teacher-as-audience, about an event in which the teacher had been a participant. Children responded to these assignments by acceding to the needs/wishes of the real audience; i.e., they gave the teacher what she wanted. They told her what she already knew; they included Social Studies information in what was supposed to be "creative writing", as in (3).

- (3) (The title and opening event, eating nuts and discovering they were bad nuts, were provided by the teacher for the whole class.)

La Nuez Podrida

Un día estaba en mi casa comiendo nueces. Yo pelé una y adentro no estaba una nuez. Salí Abraham Lincoln y estaba recién nacido y pasaron años y años y luego él tenía 20 años y luego se casó y él le gustaba leer la Biblia y luego sus vecinos le traían libros para que los leera y se pasaba toda la noche en la chimenea leyendo los libros y luego era presidente, 16 presidente, y él se parecía a la nuez porque él nació en la nuez. El Fin

(The Rotten Nut
One day I was at home eating nuts. I peeled one and inside there wasn't a nut. Abraham Lincoln came out and he was just born and years and years passed and then he was 20 years old and then he got married and he liked to read the bible and then his neighbors would bring him books so he will read them and he spent all night on the hearth reading the books and then he was the President, the 16 President, and he looked like a nut because he was born in the nut. The End.)

They wrote letters in Spanish (the language the teacher wanted the children to write in) even if the named ad-

dressee was not a Spanish speaker. When the teacher valued long pieces, they gave her long pieces, even if they had to write big, leave big spaces, and repeat words and phrases (y era bien bien bien bonito/and it was very very very pretty).

There was a time, during the first week of school when some children must have thought the writing was truly functional---before third graders realized that writing to the teacher was writing to the examiner (Britton, 1970) rather than to the Person; before some second graders found out that letters to someone outside of class first went to the teacher. During that time, third graders wrote to their teacher in English (she was clearly more proficient in that language) and a second grader began his letter to the principal in English before switching back to Spanish.

Children used address terms or titles in the language that was congruent with the ethnicity of the person being referred to. They differentiated between insiders and outsiders by virtue of the amount of precise information they supplied. For instance, an invitation to the Program Director, an insider who knew the schools, contained the following (lack of) information:

- (4)(long section about Creek Indians)...y
Señorita yo voy ¿quiere venir a la clase a
vernós bailar una canción de los indios y
puede ir y que nos vea a jugar stickball y a
comer?

(....and Miss, I'm going to, do you want to come to the class to see us dance an Indian song and can you go and in order to see us play stickball and to eat?)

The same child's invitation to an outsider included much more information.

(5) Querida Mrs. Edelsky,
Nosotros vamos a tener una comida el miércoles 17 a las 1:00 PM y es muy sabrosa y dígame si va ir. ¿Sí o no? Y pase el día de Christmas y el salón 4 de la escuela S. Y le va gustar mucho.
Tu amiga,
Ro.

(Dear Mrs. Edelsky,
We're going to have a dinner Wednesday the 17th at 1 PM and it's very delicious and tell me if you're going to go. Yes or no? And spend Christmas day and room 4 of S. School and you're going to like it a lot.
Your friend,
Ro.)

Later letters to in-school pen pals were much more informal than first letters. It was not merely that growth, rather than increased familiarity, was what produced the more intimate later letters. The chatty quality of letters to pen pals written during the fourth collection was not an attribute of letters to out-of-school adults written during the same period.

4. Young writers are insensitive to demands of texts or contexts.

There are too many possible refutations to provide examples of each. For instance, if the children had not been sensitive to demands of different modalities for texts they would have code-switched in writing as often as they did orally. A first grader would most likely not

have translated a Spanish title of a song (La Vibora del Mar) sung only in Spanish into English (wiseineicadaochen/ we sang a snake on the ocean) in order to have an all-English written text. Nor would they have bothered to switch codes to provide a direct quotation in the language it was originally uttered in (el Popeye dijo--Yeay--/Popeye said, 'Yeay').

If there had been no sensitivity to different text demands, it would have been impossible to distinguish letters from journals from stories, etc. In fact, it was most often quite obvious. Journals, letters, and stories had different kinds of headings and beginnings. Stories had titles but journals and letters did not. Direct or indirect dialogue appeared in stories or journals but not in letters. Books, but not other types, sometimes included escrito por ____ (written by ____). Most authors did not put their names on journals, but they did in letters. Journal entries, but no other type, sometimes were tied to other entries. Examples (6a) and (6b) illustrate this phenomenon.

- (6a) 4 diciembre 1980 (first entry)
Hoy es jueves. Arbolito hicimos de Christmas.
La Miss D. no está aquí. Ahora no está. Me
compraron zapatos negros.

(Today is Thursday. We made a little tree for Christmas. Miss D. isn't here. Today she's not here. They bought me black shoes.)

- (6b) 5 diciembre 1980 (second entry)
Hoy es viernes. Y también me compraron un
vestido (undecipherable)

(Today is Friday. And they also bought me a dress (undecipherable).)

Despite the encouragement the first and second graders received for drawing pictures along with their writing, there were no pictures on letters.

A first grader knew that a word strung out across two pages (due to insufficient space on the first page) had to be counted as one word. He marked it thus:

Hoy⁽⁷⁾ es viernes.
Cristina no vino

Hoy es viernes.
Cristina no vino. Está
mala. Eduardo se fue
a California.

esta mala



(Today is Friday.
Cristina didn't come.
She's sick. Eduardo
went to California.)

Eduardo se fue a California ! na

There were other features of the written texts that may not have been characteristic of these same children's oral offerings. For instance, third grade Ray often introduced his reports (I still remember about yesterday night in a report on what happened last night/, or I would like to write about the field trip). Third graders 'set the mood' in stories. First graders added a Christmas greeting when they thanked someone in a letter. A scary story was ended with nomás que estan soñando (they were only dreaming). Words and ideas that might have been an embarrassment to express orally to the teacher

appeared in writing. Some gabachos (derogatory term for Anglos) gave a child's family food and clothing and so Christmas was good. A boy was able to see the underpants of a dancer in a school program.

One interesting example of children's acknowledgement of an oral/written/orally-rendered writing distinction occurred during an observation. Three second graders were collaborating on inventing a recipe. After several oral suggestions, one boy summarized with rising intonation: le vamos a poner leche, huevos, masa... (we're going to put (in) milk, eggs, corn meal ...). As the others dictated, the scribe wrote, putting y between items: le vamos a poner leche y. Before he could add any more, the aide came by and asked them to read their recipe. The oral rendering of a text that was supposed to be written but had not been finished did not match either what was written or what had been summarized earlier: le vamos a poner leche. Le vamos a poner huevos. Le vamos a poner masa. Gone were the connecting y's and a repeated frame was added. If the marks on the paper signaled only a slight written/oral style difference, the oral "reading" showed a considerable difference.

5. Bilingualism is a limitation, especially if the two linguistic varieties are non-standard.

The extent of bilingualism varied from child to child. Still, even what we surmise was minimal proficiency in one of the varieties added to the child's options for inter-

preting and signaling meaning. Children saw movies or read books in one language (English) and wrote about them in another, which provides some evidence that the non-standard dialect of English in which several were productively proficient was not the only English dialect they knew. They had some receptive capability with the Standard English of movies/books also.

By using two codes in writing, the children effectively communicated certain added meanings. For example, by code switching for quotations, they conveyed unambiguously that the quote was direct.

- (8) Un cocodrilo se querfa comer a Popeye pero Popeye vió su spinach y la recogió y su spinach y la recogió y le pegó al cocodrilo y el cocodrilo se murió y el Popeye dijo--yeay--. Y ya se terminó y la película estaba suave, muy suave. El fin. De Marfa.

(A crocodile wanted to eat Popeye but Popeye saw his spinach and he got it back and his spinach and he got it back and he fought the crocodile and the crocodile died and Popeye said, "Yeay". And the movie ended and the movie was nice, very nice. The end. By Marfa.)

Code switching did not necessarily indicate lack of knowledge of the word in the other language. There were pieces of writing that had both sad and triste, raccoon and mapache among other translation pairs. What knowledge of the term in the second language possibly did for the child then was to increase the number of synonyms so that the same word did not have to be over-used. It may have also allowed another means for expressing emphasis. In (9), completion was an important point to this third

grader. Print size increased and two ways of encoding the idea appear.

(9) y se fueron a fuera
una viejita llegó a
la casa de los ositos

Fin The end

... y se fueron afuera y una viejita llegó a la casa de los ositos. Fin. The End.

... and they went outside and a little old lady came to the three bears' house. The End. The End.

Knowledge of many aspects of two codes, one being characteristics of the orthographies of two languages, also helped a child convey the foreign-ness of a scientific word. Rosa had encountered the word stegasaurus during oral Social Studies discussions. She had also seen it written on the board and perhaps in English library books available in the classroom. When she wrote about the animal, she spelled it:

estick sobres (4 times)
estickosobres
esticosobres (2 times)
esticri sobres
estick sores

This kind of word was a reasonable candidate for a first and unstable invention. The instability is not what is so interesting, however, in relation to this myth of the disadvantage of bilingualism. What Rosa did in several of the spellings was to use features of two systems (the k for English and "science", the Spanish est instead of

st at word beginning, the familiar words stick and sobre) to render the parts of a strange word more sensible both semantically and orthographically.

6. Literacy (and language proficiency) is constant across contexts, or, when you've got it, you've got it.

These data reject such a notion. Instead, they showed variation in form, content, and quality co-occurring with contextual variation (including aspects of the writing task).

The bases for spelling inventions often changed when the language of the text changed. That is, while Spanish spellings were often invented on the basis of phonics generalizations (ll for y) or phonetic features (tabien for también, with the nasal omitted and presumably categorized as part of the vowel), English inventions were more often based on Spanish orthography (joup for hope). A change in the language of the text also affected the bases for segmenting language. Spanish words were more often segmented into syllables than English words were, and Spanish verb phrases and noun phrases were more likely to be unconventionally joined together. Language also affected the existence of lexical links between clauses. English sentences were less frequently joined with and.

- (10) We got leaves and put it in the plaster of Paris. There is big bones and little bones. There are big bones bigger than a building. The dinosaurs are big.

Spanish texts written by the same child typically had y or some other link between every main clause.

- (11) Yo ahora vi a una de las señoras de ASU y yo no sabía que ella sabía en inglés y en español y yo voy a estar bien.

(Today I saw one of the ladies from ASU and I didn't know that she knew how (to talk) in English and Spanish and I'm going to be OK.)

Materials had an effect. In shape books (many pieces of bone-shaped or apple-shaped paper stapled together), there was more chance for some character development and mention of a setting than there was in stories. The availability of colored markers at the first grade writing center engendered many pieces filled with color words and written in a marker matching the meaning of the word. Paying so much attention to such a matching effort, several children reverted to earlier spellings for some words (reverting to i for y, for instance). Type of writing, such as difference in genre or difference between text and signature, also mattered. Children rarely related details or even inferred any comment about how they perceived the events reported on in journals; they gave "just the facts, ma'am". In expository reports and letters, however, they were more likely to include at least some personal evaluation. When third graders wrote in cursive, they usually did not extend cursive script to their signatures, which remained tied to manuscript writing.

Who instigated the piece was another variable. Writing spurred by the intentions of the writer rather than the teacher was often of a different type and purpose than assigned writing. Letters of complaint and of

genuine thanks, jokes, songs, etc. were not among assignments. Moreover, complaints, jokes, etc. did not contain tangential ideas strung together like beads, as many assigned letters did. When children wrote from their own intentionality, they could hypothesize about special writing problems, such as how to capture the unique rhythm and timing of language when it is sung rather than spoken. A first grader from Ms. A's class tried out a Posadas song (a Christmas ritual) in March (the child was not limited by the calendar). She tried out repeated vowels to match the elongation of certain sung words (tunaaaaaa-
nte, mesooooooooon). Two weeks later, still intrigued by the problem of how to render this song into print but more sure of her solution, she elongated many words.

(12)

el nombre del
siseeeelo aspidop
saqaqaada el no
puede aandoaaaaar
no sea un tunan
aqaqaante.
aqui no es mesoon
sigan adelaante
yo no puedo abrir
mir no sea un
tunaaaaaqa aqaan
aante.

El nombre del cielo
Os pido Posada
El no puede andar.
No sea un tunante.
Aqui no es mesón.
Sigan adelante
Yo no puede abrir.
No sea un tunante.

Such hypotheses never surfaced in assigned writing.

The teacher's presence and questioning was a support in producing some texts. In what may have been an example of the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978), some children wrote more organized texts, less tied by y, when

the teacher or aide sat with an individual and asked what s/he would write next. When the teacher stood at the board, transcribed elicited sentences describing Santa Claus for a group "chart story", and then asked children to write their own descriptions, the resultant pieces contained no connecting links between sentences. This was in total contrast to other pieces written by the same children. In the case of the teacher/aide helping an individual child, the help came in the form of a prod. In the case of the teacher eliciting sentences, the help consisted of a model text with a particularly schoolish ring (Santa Claus has a sleigh. The dwarfs help Santa Claus. Santa Claus brings presents. Santa Claus brings sweets., etc.). The children's individual texts based on the Santa Claus sentences were remarkably similar to each other and the model, but were different enough not to have been copied. Apparently, the writers had picked up the style for this exercise in writing, but it did not appear in any of their other writing.

When both local conventions (spelling, segmentation, punctuation, etc.) and global intentions (e.g., providing an appropriate rendition of a song) varied with context, it is difficult to see the validity of thinking a person has one literacy proficiency, as it is usually conceived. (One repertoire, with potential for change, however, might be a reasonable notion.)

Myths about Biliteracy and Bilingual Education

1. To begin literacy or language acquisition in Spanish and then to add English leads to interference with English literacy and language acquisition.

Some of the evidence against this myth is not unambiguous. It is possible to interpret the following as examples showing negative interference or to see them instead as showing a positive process of application. However, other evidence disambiguates what seems ambiguous.

Krashen (1980) pointed out the interference/application distinction when he proposed that second language learners fall back on and use first language rules when their repertoires do not include the appropriate second language rule. That is, rather than being prevented from acquiring an L2 rule because they already have an L1 rule, they use the L1 rule until they acquire the L2 rule. If L1 rules interfered with the learning of L2 rules, then, obviously, no one would ever acquire an L2.

Many of our Subjects did indeed use what they knew about L1 literacy when they wrote in their L2. They used Spanish orthography in English.

(13)	nariet	not it
	ai joup llu gou agien	I hope you go again
	tu scull	to school
	baramurosaco	bought a motorcycle
	chi lismi	she lets me
	telebichen	television
	ba llana umen	bionic woman
	stauor	Star Wars

The same child used similar segmentation types in both L1 and L2 writing. One of the many examples of this appears

in (14a) and (14b). Here second grade Agustin used both phonological and "anti"-phonological bases for unconventional segments. That is, in both English and Spanish pieces he segmented by syllable (underlined once) and he also left single non-syllabic letters stranded (underlined twice).

(14a)

hir mistr d.

La n u u for cho lous
 da lase en da lo in
 u ho uda ra es en
ten el u for gi bin
 a re es wi la b lla
en oi la b lla se mo ch

Dear Mr. A.,
 Thank you for showing
 us the fossils and the
 telling about the rocks
 and thank you for
 giving us rocks. We
 love you and I love
 you so much...

(14b)

que rido mario grase
 por la canas tita
esta ba mun bonito
 y te cero mun ch
por ce tu eres gueno
con mi go i lla
te bo lla mo n da ru

Querido Mario,
 Gracias por la canas-
 tita. Estaba muy
 bonita y te quiero
 mucho porque tú eres
 bueno conmigo y yo te
 voy a mandar una
 canastita.

(Dear Mario,
 Thank you for the
 little basket. It
 was very nice and I
 like you a lot because
 you are nice to me and
 I'm going to send you
 a little basket.)

can astita

The children used similar syntactic styles in Spanish and English pieces. Many examples of cross-language similarities (in spelling, segmentation, syntactic styles, etc.)

provide ambiguous evidence here. That is, one could just as easily say that features of Spanish literacy were interfering with English literacy as say that the Spanish features were being applied in English writing.

The disambiguating evidence, however, that which tilts the scale in favor of an application (vs. an interference) interpretation, are k spellings and other "sight" spellings. If Spanish orthography interfered with acquisition of English orthographic rules, all English writing would have been spelled in Spanish. It was not. With the exception of one second grader, no other child used the letter k for the Spanish /k/. K, which only appears in foreign words in adult Spanish, was reserved for English. Example (15) shows spellings of /k/ by three children; Spanish /k/ on the left and English /k/ on the right.

(15)

child #3	quequis, cecís (quequis)	snack (snake)
child #11	cumple anos (cumpleaños)	black
child #10	porce (porque)	crikk ingens (Creek Indians)

The following spellings also imply that knowledge of Spanish orthography did not interfere with learning about English orthography and that spelling was based on sight as well as sound: wuent (went), MSR (Mrs.), the, walkin (walking).

The children used similar approaches to writing each language. One third grade child who had just come from Mexico with little school experience wrote disconnected words at first in Spanish. His first writing in English

was also an assortment of disconnected words.

Cases where children segmented differently in English and Spanish will be discussed in Chapter 5. For now, the spelling data and that showing the use of similar approaches lend weight to the argument that children were developing separate systems, but were using the same processes in acquiring each, and that they were making use of one system to fill in the holes in the other.

2. Spanish spelling is highly regular; therefore phonics instruction in Spanish results in consistent spelling.

Actually, as Naflicio (1979) stated, Spanish diphthongs, consonants, and glides are not at all in one-to-one correspondence with letters. Instead, there are several spellings of single sounds.

Our subjects' spelling inventions certainly argue against the regularity of Spanish orthography and the great pedagogical advantage of phonics instruction. Consonant inventions and inconsistencies greatly outnumbered vowel inventions in Spanish pieces while the reverse was true for English. Thus, rather than one regular and one irregular orthography, each of the two is "irregular" in different ways. Moreover, the children's early phonics instructions may have been what led them astray in some cases. If they learned the lessons in the phonics workbooks that y and ll, b and v, c and qu, etc. "make the same sound", then llo (yo), boy (voy), and porce (porque) were instructionally-motivated unconventionalities.

Despite the phonics instruction, children used other bases for inventing a spelling besides applying generalizations from such lessons. They used the names of letters (staban/estaban, d/de); phonetic feature categories that were then spelled alike (all nasals spelled as n, for example; liquids substituting for each other, etc.), reversed letters (b for d, g for p), and a variety of others (see Table 6 in Chapter 2 for the complete list). That is, like monolingual English speaking young writers, these children used a variety of kinds of information in order to spell a word. And despite the grapho-phonetic regularity of nuclear vowels, they also invented vowel spellings, though these were less numerous than consonant inventions (casas for cosas; puidi for pude, feles for felfz).

3. Exposure to Spanish print in a child's own and peers' writing and in a few textbooks provides sufficient information about the nature and function of Spanish print.

Though this study was not designed to compare children's knowledge of the nature and function of print in "writing classrooms" vs. in "workbook/ditto sheet classrooms", it is our subjective impression that the writing classroom children knew more about what writing was for and how to construct a text than did children whose writing consisted of filling in blanks on dittod worksheets. If only children's own texts had been sufficient then for providing all the systems (publication norms, whole dis-

course structures, genre signals, spelling and punctuation conventions, etc.) that have to be acquired in written language! Unfortunately, this was not the case. Exposure to predominantly child/self-produced and unconventional print in Spanish may have accounted for the following set of peculiar similarities:

y nios (indios/Indians)
y la (y la/ and the)
y so (hizo/ he made).

The second grade child who segmentally and orthographically equated the nominative label for the Social Studies unit, the first syllable of a commonly used verb, and a conjunction and article had probably interacted with little published print.

Despite direct instruction using Spanish print, the print environment and print-in-use data actually showed, in some cases, more interactions with or at least availability of English print. This may have been one reason for first grade George's more conventional segmentation of English than Spanish print, as (16) shows.

(16a)

Today is Wednesday.
b Titr vin a murosak en
chis. da murosako es
pacas no key.
(George)

Today is Wednesday.
La teacher bring a
motorcycle and jacket.
The motorcycle is
black and big.

(16b)

Hoy es martes.
Fuimos a la cafetería.
Bailaron los niños de Mrs.
S. Bailaron y cantaron.
(Today is Tuesday. We
went to the cafeteria.
Mrs. S.'s children
danced. They danced
and sang.)

Hoy es martes. Fuimos
a la cafetería. Baila-
ron los niños de Mrs.
S. Bailaron y canta-
ron.

(Today is Tuesday. We
went to the cafeteria.
Mrs. S.'s children
danced. They danced
and sang.)

4. In order to read and write in a language, one must be orally fluent in it; the L2 learning and instructional sequence is listen, speak, read, write.

To some extent, the myth is probably correct. A monolingual child will most likely be unable to express anything in writing in another language. Though we had no completely monolingual Spanish speakers among our subjects, the two third grade recent arrivals from Mexico were barely able to understand or produce any oral English at the start of the year. Unfortunately, we have no English writing samples from one. We do have some English writing from the other, however. Instead of following directions written in English, he copied them off the board. A piece of writing that was at least partly his own was (17).

- (17) Abraham Lincoln es la Abraham Lincoln,
president. the back Kentucky in lived
promises president al February 12, 1809.
Liked to read history. El nació.

The incoherence, the sprinkling of copied-off-the-board words and phrases that had been posted as spelling helps--this could certainly have been due to limited proficiency in oral English. However, this child's writing in Spanish

was sometimes similarly incoherent, though his oral production was not.

- (18) A mí no me gustó viaje. Yo las a yo porque ya se ser y em a la the I and si like the pioneer al casa pink and I like the yo no. I didn't like trip. I them to I because still yes to be and em at the the I and yes like the pioneer at the pink house I like the not me.

The author of (17) and (18) was unusual in many ways. However, although none of the other children put words on a page seemingly at random, most did resemble this third grader in their greater oral proficiency in Spanish. Still, many second graders chose library and reference books in English before having reading instruction in English and without speaking much English in class. First graders who did not use much English print and who, during observations, avoided speaking any English in class, wrote in English upon the request of the researchers.

- (19) *Today is*
Wednesday. Mey Memy
Beymy Sem Chiquen
An ay lay quet Elcl.
An Ey wen Mor chiquen
pet Mey Memy don
Gim Mor chiquen
pat Ay Gray An
Mey Memy gim Mor
chiquen. N. May Mam
don limisi da teleth
pet Ey Sayutolis
Melly An chi lisu
Siet de tela Bichan
An Eysi da Artuns

Today is Wednesday.
My mommy buy me some
chicken and I like it
a lot and I want more
chicken but my mommy
don't give me more
chicken but I cry and
my mommy give me more
chicken and my mommy
don't leave me see
the television but
I said, "Please
Mommy" and she let's
me see it the tele-
vision and I see the
cartoons.

It is clear that María was using quite varied information sources in order to produce this text. Not just oral

English but knowledge of Spanish orthography, Spanish and English word order, English lexicon, knowledge of segmentation, punctuation, journal conventions for her classroom--all this entered into the production of this piece.

Other children too, with less oral proficiency in English were still able to convey meaning, punctuate, spell, etc. in that language. In fact, an English piece by a given child was often identical on some dimension to Spanish pieces written by that child. Third grade Juanita, who used an invented punctuation pattern of capital to start the first page, period to end the last, and no other punctuation in Spanish pieces, used the same pattern in English pieces. Similar syntactic styles and pragmatic solutions (e.g., how to end a piece) appeared across languages. In other words, it was not necessary to have "total control" over oral English in order to read and write in English. Nor was it necessary to read English, especially to read it "officially" (i.e., to be assigned to an English reading group), in order to write it.

5. Professional preparation concerned with bilingual education is only for people who will teach in bilingual education classrooms.

Here, I am extrapolating from what was required in order to analyze the writing data to what would be required in a classroom. The extension is not so unfair as it may seem at first.

By the time he had reached third grade, Ray was considered dominant in English. His English writing,

however, often contained some Spanish-influenced items. For instance, he wrote a noise very awful, a termite very big, using Spanish word order for the noun and adjective. Perlinda, in a report of a walk she and her friend took, wrote and then he fall and I went to help her. The children's English spelling seemed to be quite different in some respects from the unconventional spelling of monolingual English children. All of these "mistakes" were exciting for us to find because they revealed something of the relation between acquisition of two languages and two writing systems. However, to someone without some sensitivity to characteristics of early bilingualism and biliteracy, such "mistakes" might easily seem like evidence of any number of disabilities: "poor auditory discrimination", "poor visual memory", "deviant language", etc. Moreover, the non-standard word order, pronoun usage, etc. might be so salient that they could prevent a bilingualism-insensitive observer from seeing certain features of the content. Similes (da ar big bons bigr dan a bildin/there are big bones, bigger than a building; it mad me run as faster a jack rabi/it made me run(as fast as) a jack rabbit), rhetorical devices (enthen I cood see a site but I thot for a secent how cood I see a site in the nite/and then I could see a sight. But then I thought for a second: how could I see a sight in the night?!), and other signs of writing growth might have trouble competing for attention with "odd" spelling, syntax and morphology.

Enlightened professional preparation for bilingual teachers should enable them to understand possible sources and relative importance of such phenomena. But these, phenomena, along with child authors with these language backgrounds, are not so kind as to stay within the confines of bilingual classroom walls. They appear in "regular" classrooms also, for "regular" teachers' assessments. It is important that such teachers too are adequately prepared for understanding what appears in these children's writing.

Myths about Research on Writing

1. Researchers can understand a product without knowing the context of its production.

Instead, much that could have been opaque in a product was more transparent by virtue of knowledge of certain contextual features. And the corollary: it was possible to begin by looking at context and to see that context reflected in writing samples.

Beginning with texts, segmentation was more conventional in English than in Spanish in first and second grades. Researchers had to learn about the print environment, the time of the year children wrote in English, and about the source of children's language proficiency in each language to make sense of this finding. That is, there was more commercial and conventional print in English; writing in English only occurred at the end of the year when greater writing maturity prevented use of the

most immature kinds of unconventional segmentation (e.g., leaving no spaces within an entire sentence); and Spanish proficiency was gained entirely from oral interactions while the source of English proficiency was perhaps both oral and written modes (so that early writing in Spanish was more tied to the prosody of speech than early English writing was). All of these factors, dependent on some knowledge of the context, needed to be considered as possible explanations.

Still beginning with text: hoy es appeared on non-journals, sometimes even at the end of stories, in the first grade. To understand that appearance, one had to know the importance of that heading (that it was assigned to appear on every journal and that most first grade writing was journal writing).

Many second grade texts seemed to have a "big shift" in their organization. An example is (20).

(20) Yo tengo un mono que sé quien es. Yo digo que es un hombre que nos da paletas o regalo. A mí me gustaría una moto. Esos son mis favoritos. A mí me gustan también unos go cars.

(I have a doll that I know who it is. I say it's a man who gives us popsicles or a present. I would like to have a motorcycle. Those are my favorites. I also like go cars.)

It was important to know that this was a function of the assignment (part of the context rather than the children's approach to organizing ideas). Assignments were often akin to: tell what this is (a picture, an object), then tell something about that object. In other words, the

assignments were in two parts and so were the pieces of writing.

Second grade pieces also all had dates at the beginning, which was a convention of that classroom. First graders' writing later in the year had certain features: one word or one sentence per page in child-made books, story content concerning Mr. or Mrs. Monster, books with por ____ (by ____) on a cover page. In each case, the writing was a direct reflection of some input children had had---picture books with one word/phrase/sentence per page (rather than a sentence that spanned two pages), classroom rules about dates, a series they had read and heard read aloud (the Monster series).

The following are examples of pieces that show little involvement on their author's part or else down-right refusal to handle a topic.

- (21) One day I was sitting home eating nuts. I cracked one open and instead of a nut inside I found a termite very big and hungry that I fed him and he ran off and said, "Goodbye". So I said, "Goodbye" back. The End.
- (22) Hoy es martes. Ahora mi hermana me compró Valentines. (Today is Tuesday. Today my sister bought me Valentines.)
- (23) Yo pienso que cuando estaba chiquito, no me hacía un penny. Por eso no me hago penny.
(I think when I was little, they didn't make me into a penny. Therefore I don't become a penny.)

These pieces were all composed on demand, as assignments.

Example (23) is special in that it shows the integrity of the writer in the face of the topic/assignment: write a

piece with the title If I Were a Penny.

It is not that all assignments were carried out perfunctorily or that all gimmicky titles were refused. The same authors of (21), (22), and (23) sometimes became more involved with other assignments, came to "own" the topic. But knowing that almost all pieces were assigned was important information in analyzing these data.

We can also start with context and then look for its influence on text. Materials at the first grade writing center influenced the topics and certain conventions of many of the unassigned pieces written there. The availability of various colored markers was the direct antecedent of several pieces, by different children, full of color words with each color word written in a matching marker.

- (24) Las muchachas de la Sra. A. bailaron en la cafeteria con faldas de colores azul y anaranjado y roja y amarillo y plomo.

(Mrs. S's girls danced in the cafeteria with skirts with the colors blue and orange and red and yellow and purple.)

Large unlined paper at this center was treated by several children to hand-made lines with a number beginning each line. Regular lined pieces of paper used for assignments never had their lines numbered or new lines drawn in.

The same teacher who provided her children with this writing center, time to go there, and freedom to write without assignment was the one who believed children could only write their names at the start of first grade. That expectational context is what produced the first grade's

first collection consisting of pictures with only names written on them.

The second grade teacher's beliefs about writing also influenced texts produced. She thought that more was better. Her children gave her what she wanted---at a price. They wrote summaries or reports as long as 27 pages, full of repeated ideas, repeated phrases, repeated modifiers, big spaces, etc. Ms. C's beliefs, resulting in extraordinary and strained length, may have also been responsible then for some of the text organization we coded as "organized on the associative principle"; i.e., loosely connected ideas with the current one seeming to have been triggered by the preceding one rather than by any hierarchical ordering.

Another context that directly influenced the writing data was the culture and socio-economic situation of the author (revealed in some topics and some treatment of topics).

In short, features of the writing became much more understandable the more that was known about what impinged on that piece of writing.

2. Researchers can/should look at writing as separate from talking.

By contrast, some of these data indicate that it might be more productive to avoid a strict modality division and look at oral and written language as part of the same text. In fact, sometimes even pictures did not

merely accompany texts; they too were part of them. An example of the written part of a text that spanned oral and written modes and a picture that is being referred to is (25).



A mí me gusta mucho y estaba jugando con mis amigas. Me porté bien. Me gusta mucho y estoy bajando a alguien más y unos no se portaron bien y le sentaron porque no se portaron. Y no se portaron bien y se tenían que sentar y era Jose L. y se sienta y Rudolfo L. 21 enero 1981. Hoy miércoles.

(I like it a lot and I was playing with my friends. I behaved myself. I like it a lot and I am lowering someone else and some didn't behave themselves and they sat down because they didn't behave. And they didn't behave well and they had to sit down and it was Jose L. and he sits and Rudolfo L. January 21, 1981. Today Wednesday.)

If the picture is considered as accompanying this first grade text, it clears up the meaning of estoy bajando. If it is part of the text, then estoy bajando is not unclear to begin with. If the text consists only of the print, then the whole thing refers to an unnamed event. If however, the teacher's oral directions (write to me about

how you liked the trip to the park) are taken as part of text, then this whole semantic unit is coherent with its environment; i.e., this text occurs in oral, written, and pictorial modes and was constructed by more than one person.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) as well as sociolinguistic researchers (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) indicate that oral texts are frequently the products of more than one person's efforts. Adjacency pairs such as Summons/Reply, Query/Response, etc. are, for example, whole units with slots filled by different parties. Thus, the idea that a text might include different speakers is not foreign when considering oral texts. However, more-than-one-party or more-than-one-mode is rarely acknowledged when writing is concerned. Usually, great pains are taken to draw distinctions and to separate written and oral language. Though this is certainly productive for many purposes, it tends to encourage a more rigid division than is needed when looking at young children's writing.

3. The written event is simple; it is easy to explain by appealing to a sequence of "pre-write, write, re-write" or "first draw and then write" or "do grammar exercises and then write better", etc.

Instead, we found the event to be complex, requiring good observations of the event as it occurs in order to come closer to understanding the written piece. Although we had information on many contexts "in general", as explained in Chapter 1, we did not plan for or carry out observations as any of the writing data were being

produced. Thus, we can only wonder about why the following (and other perplexing features of other pieces) occurred. For instance, in two separate pieces, second grade Eddie spelled the /j/ sound in cumpleaños correctly (ñ) but spelled the same sound in tuyos and in a stretched out/sounded-out maestra as ll (tullos, mallestra). Was cumpleaños written on the board for him to copy? Did he know the rendition of /j/ adjacent to /n/ but not between vowels? We don't know.

Another example: the whole school saw a movie in English about a family that adopted handicapped children. The first and second graders wrote summaries of/reactions to the movie. The summaries made it seem that the authors had great holes in their understanding of the events portrayed in the film. Was that because children's proficiency in English was not adequate to the task of understanding the narrator? Was the content too sophisticated for first and second graders regardless of the language of the film? Again, we do not know.

Second grade José repeated phrases in both English and Spanish pieces. An English example is (26).

- (26) Totem poles protect you. They have faces of animals. My totem pole has a lion on it. Totem poles are big and they have wings and they are too big and they are too big and they are too big and they are from the Navajos.

His penchant for repeated phrases in Spanish, however, resulted in formulae that remain enigmatic to us. Were the me lo vas phrases idiosyncratic fillers to take up space?

2

Did they carry reference for José?

- (27) (in a letter) ...y lo vas y lo vas a y lo vas a la casa y me lo vas hacer un carta y lo vas hacer un carta...

(...and you are going it and you are going it to and you are going it at the house and you are going to make me a letter and you are going to make a letter...)

- (28) (in a summary of a movie) ...y me lo vas hacer un casa y me lo vas hacer un y me lo vas hacer un casa y me lo vas hacer una casa y me las hacer un casa y me lo vas hacer un casa...

(...and you are going to make me a house and you are going to make me one and you are going to make me a house and you are going to make me a house and to make them for me a house and you are going to make me a house...)

- (29) (in a report) ...y él se me lo vas a el mamá y se lo tiene a él y se te me lo vas a el trabajo y se le me vas a el avión muy grande.

(...and he is going it for me for the mama and he has it for him and you are leaving it yourself for me for the work and you are going for me for it to the big plane.)

Where they external ruminations used for keeping himself writing while he figured out a meaning to write? We have no way of knowing.

And when this child wrote a piece that was partly full of these odd phrases and partly sensible, what happened? Did someone help him? Did an adult's mere presence prod greater focus?

- (30) Nosostros fuimos a el biblioteca y los dan libros de los dinosaurios y ellos se me gusta a mirar a los libros y él no se me lo vas a él me lo vas a su libro y se fue a la casa a la libro y se mi casa y él se fue a la biblioteca y él no se me lo tiene a mí. Libro es de dinosaurios. Y él se me fue a la casa y él pesa doscientos y te puede a pisarte y te deja

como una tortilla y se puede a comerte y le gusta a comer carne y él sí tiene grandes dientes y él puede a ganar a triceratops y él sí puede a ganar a el triceratops. Se llama Tyrannosaurus Rex.

(We went to the library and they given them books on dinosaurs and they themselves I like to look at the books and it you aren't leaving it to me to it you are going to me to his/ your book and he left for home to the book and itself my house and he left for the library and he doesn't have it to me for itself. Book is on dinosaurs. And it left me at home and it weighs 200 and it can step on you and leave you like a tortilla and it can eat you and it likes to eat meat and it does have big teeth and it can beat the triceratops and it can beat the triceratops. It's name is Tyrannosaurus Rex.)

At the end of a piece based on the nursery rhyme "Ten Little Indians", a third grader seemed to begin again for a moment with elephants.

- (31) Habían 10 conejitos. Uno se cayó en el río. Habían 9 conejitos. Un conejito se cayó en el campo. Habían 8 conejitos. Uno se enfermó y se murió. Habían 7 conejitos. Uno se cayó del ollo. Habían 6 conejitos. Se fueron a (undecipherable). Un conejito se perdió. Habían 5 conejitos. Se fueron a bailar. Uno se resbaló. Habían 4 conejitos. Uno se fue a jugar y se cayó. Habían 3 conejitos. Uno se cayó de la cama. Habían 2 conejitos. Uno se cayó del sillón. Había 1 conejito. Haría diez elefantes. Habían 10 conejitos.

(There were 10 little rabbits. One fell in the river. There were 9 little rabbits. One little rabbit fell in the field. There were 8 little rabbits. One got sick and died. There were 7 little rabbits. One fell from the pot. There were 6 little rabbits. They went to (undecipherable). One little rabbit got lost. There were 5 little rabbits. They went to dance. One slipped. There were 4 little rabbits. One went to play and fell. There were 3 little rabbits. One fell out of bed. There were 2 little rabbits. One fell off a big chair. There was 1 little rabbit. I would do 10 elephants. There

were 10 little rabbits.)

Other children had written about 10 little elephants, while this author was the only one who wrote about rabbits. Did she feel like she should mention elephants somewhere? Did Habfan 10 conejitos mean she was going to begin again---or did the last two sentences mean that she could have written about elephants but it was rabbits that she wrote about?

Most of the interpretations of the data to be reported in Chapter 5 will be inferences. Most likely, even if examples (26) through (31), along with every other piece of writing, had been observed in the making, interpretation of features of content, spelling, spacing, etc. would require some inferential leaps. But those leaps would at least have been more account-able----that is, they would have accounted for more of the total event.

Myths about the Teaching of Writing

1. Learning comes from teaching and therefore, a precise detailed, instructional sequence must be planned.

In fact, many features of the children's writing could not be traced to direct instruction. Children read and wrote in English without literacy instruction in English. An example of a spontaneous story, written in English, comes from a non-study second grade in the Bilingual Program.

- (32) Ones supen a time ther livd a good harted lien. He difrent from de adrs. He was good too de adr animoles and de adr animoles wer good too hem. Ande he didnt like too fite and he

didnt like de adr animol too fite. He somtims
guen da abr animoles fite gued hime an he liked
too play and he livd gapolievtr aftr.

(Once upon a time there lived a good hearted
lion. He different from the others. He was
good to all the other animals and the other
animals were good to him. And he didn't like
to fight and he didn't like the other animal
to fight. He sometimes when the other animals
fight with him and he liked to play and he
lived happily every after.)

Obviously, this second grader used knowledge of Spanish
orthography to write this piece, along with use of his own
accented pronunciation of English. But note the features
that have their origin in untaught English orthography---
silent e "sight" words, double letters, etc.

The children invented punctuation that was not taught,
such as stars between sentences,

(33)

~~Papá~~ meza un pato.
asiero unpari.
mecomianpari era undak

Papá me da un pato.
Eicieron un party.
Me comí un dari y
era un atole.

(Papa gives me a
duck. They made a
party. I ate a Dairy
(Queen) and it was
an atole.)

upright bars at the end of a story, periods at the end
of every line, capitals at the start of every page of a
multi-page piece, a hyphen between each word or group of
words, etc. No one taught them such punctuation.

Their spelling instruction included phonics "rules"
and attention to visual features (e.g., tildas, accents).
The children used more than that information, however.

They used phonetic features (spelling according to place or manner of articulation), sounding out strategy (e.g., inserting a sound when elongating the pronunciation as in mayestra for maestra). Without instruction in any conventional markings for revision, Ray used vertical arrows (↑) when he inserted a word after a line had been written. There were no lessons on segmentation and yet the children's segmentation became more conventional over time.

Even when children were explicitly taught, their own hypotheses were often stronger than the teachings. For instance, first graders were instructed in and provided with several forms which they were to use---letter headings, hoy es _____ on journal entries. They did use those forms. But interesting contrasts occurred. Example (34) shows the taught version of hoy and the child-hypothesized version.

(34)

Hoy es lunes.
→ oy la mallestra
no bino porce
es tamala y

Hoy es lunes. Hoy la
maestra no vino porque
está mala y ...

(Today is Monday.
Today the teacher
didn't come because
she is sick and ...)

Although other children too spelled hoy unconventionally (usually oy or oi) immediately after copying the conventional spelling from the board, more children used another word altogether for "today"---ahora. Thus both spelling

and lexical choice frequently bypassed direct instruction. Similarly, letter headings appeared on most but not all assigned letters. Specific third grade lessons and exercises on capitals to start and periods to end sentences lost out in favor of children's hypotheses to begin a piece (rather than a sentence) with a capital and to end a piece with a period. First grade teaching of both tildas and capitals to start sentences did not meet with equivalent "success". Tildas were tried out; capitals as punctuation (vs. as handwriting) were not. That is, not only did children learn more than what was taught, but they abstracted from what was taught in order to arrive at their own conventions.

2. Form (e.g., phonics rules, journal structure, etc.) must be attended to before and in preference to content.

By contrast, many examples in these data show that an emphasis on explicitly taught forms could interfere with both form and content and that an absence of teaching of form did not mean these were not acquired.

Either phonics instruction or children's own generalizations about sound/letter correspondences resulted in many unconventional spellings. Since phonics instruction had been part of each child's first grade experience at least, it is hard to excuse teaching from responsibility for some of these unconventionalities. Children interchanged ll and y, c and qu, h and no h, b and v, etc.---just the pairs the workbooks say "make the same sound". One non-study first

grade teacher was wedded to the idea of phonics instruction/ correct spelling before "free" writing. The last week of school, her children were still writing pieces that consisted of isolated sentences or phrases and that lacked texture (similar to the phonics workbooks they had spent so much time with). Many were not even spelled conventionally---and after all that effort!

(35)

Es un carro
El niño no iba.
La casa de mamá.
El carro de papá.
Tony iba a su casa.
Mamá ama a papá.
Es una niña.
Es una mamá.

Es un carro.
El niño no iba.
La casa de mamá.
El carro de papá.
Tony iba a su casa.
Mamá ama a papá.
Es una niña.
Es una mamá.

(It's a car. The child didn't go. Mama's house. Papa's car. Tony was going to his house. Mama loves Papa. It's a girl. It's a Mama.)

The advice to "sound it out" may have been taken too seriously by one child at least. Throughout the year, second grade Agustín was more likely than other children to segment by letting non-syllabic letters stand by themselves or by dividing words into syllables. However, by April, he was doing this consistently enough that we wondered if he had not concluded that each "sound" was a separate unit and should be separated from adjacent "sounds" as in (36). (also shown earlier in (14a)).

(36) dir mi str A.,
 ta n ci u for cho inos
 da faso s en da tain
 a ba utda ra cs en
 t en cl u for givin
 u ra cs wi la b lluu....

(Dear Mr. A.,
 Thank you for showing us the fossils and the
 telling about the rocks and thank you giving
 us rocks. We love you...)

Rules set up for first grade journal forms (they had to begin with Hoy es _____) may have been partly responsible for constraining the meaning options the children had. In addition to explicit comments by the teacher about how children might write about what would happen today or what happened yesterday, Hoy es may have also influenced the preponderance of entries that concerned a superficial reporting of an activity-of-the-day. In fact, given the great number of journal entries first graders wrote (113 out of 189 pieces), it is no wonder that the form and the content emphasis on school activities appears in non-journal types of writing also, as in (37), which was a letter according to the teacher.

(37) Nosostros jugamos tienda y nos deja jugar en recreo y también los enseña las letras. También jugamos a la víbora con dos hombres. También cuando venimos de recreo tenemos que descansar. También nosotros vamos a la iglesia de Cristo. También tenemos que hacer la bandera cuando venimos de la escuela y todos nosotros tenemos que hacer reportes para ganar las estrellas. Roberto L. Hoy es lunes.

(We play store and she lets us play at recess and also she teaches them the letters. Also we play snake with two guys. Also when we came from recess we have to rest. Also we go to the Church of Christ. Also, we have to do the flag

when we come from school and we all have to make reports in order to get stars. Roberto L. Today is Monday.)

Beginning-of-the-year practice in form for the third grade boys who came from Mexico resulted in senseless though efficient "practice". That is, when each was supposed to practice writing his name and the date many times, David for instance fulfilled the assignment by writing D vertically down the page 27 times, then A vertically next to the D's, etc.

Absence of focus on form in the second grade did not mean there was no increase in conventionality in spelling, punctuation, and segmentation. For some children, porce became porque, llo became yo, large, clustered together units broke apart into conventional words, accents appeared—all without a demand for or instruction in correct form.

One of the attendant beliefs with this myth is that not only should form be emphasized first but also that if it is not, writing is impossible. As the photo-reduced examples have amply shown, children were quite able to write a text, even though they used d for b, b for g, b for p (i.e., reversals), used the bottom of the paper for the top, ran whole sentences together, etc.

3. Sense of audience is a discrete skill which should be taught at a particular grade level.

Rather, sense of audience was a perspective that was developed from on-going interactions. When the audience was unambiguous and the intention for the writing came from

the writer, the piece was more likely to reflect audience sensitivity. Much of the writing, however, even of letters, was "pretend-functional" (e.g., write a letter to Mr. A, thank him, and tell him everything you learned about dinosaurs). The children knew that the teacher was the primary audience. Many wrote in Spanish (the teacher preferred this) even though Mr. A. only spoke English. It would be difficult to develop audience sensitivity with assignments where it was unclear who the audience really was and what purpose the letter really served (politeness? evaluation?).

However, later in the year, the same second graders, whose letters to monolingual English speaking Mr. A. were in Spanish, wrote pen pal letters aimed at negotiating relationship issues,

(38) Querida Elsa,
Yo te voy a decir porque me rayaste poquito
pero yo no estoy enojado...

(Dear Elsa,
I'm going to tell (ask) you why you wrote me
(so) little, but I'm not angry...)

and directly addressed mutual concerns (will you wear lipstick?). In Mr. B's class, one of the non-study second grades described in Chapter 3, there were mailboxes for each person and children wrote letters prompted by their own desires rather than by assignment. They were genuinely functional. Some sympathized with the teacher's role (I knew you didn't want to punish us but we deserved it), scolded (why didn't you answer sooner), and complained,

expecting and getting a resolution of the problem. In

September, Elisa wrote:

- (39) Maestro, yo le mando esta libro de carta. Hoy Eugenio me pega mucho cuando vamos al recreo y a comer y cuando vamos a comer y cuando ando haciendo la tarea aquí en la escuela. Me pega mucho y yo no quiero que me pegue porque es muy trabieso conmigo y con los demás no es trabieso. Nomás conmigo y conmigo. Nomás conmigo.

(Teacher, I'm sending you this letter in a book. Today Eugenio hits me a lot when we go to recess and to eat and when we go to eat and when I go along doing homework here at school. He hits me a lot and I don't want him to hit me because he is very bothersome with me and with the others he isn't bothersome. Only with me and with me. Only with me.)

Upon receipt of the complaint, Mr. M. agreed to change

Elisa's seat. Five days later he received this "follow up".

- (40) Maestro, ahora sí estoy mejor porque Tony no me pega ni me habla porque él quiere hacer trabajo. El nomás me dice que si le presto el color café o el borador y él nomás me pide eso porque él no es trabieso conmigo. Su carta escrito por Elisa.

(Teacher, Now I am better because Tony doesn't hit me. Neither does he talk to me because he wants to do the work. He only says to me if he (could) borrow the brown crayon or the eraser and he only asks me that, because he isn't bothersome with me. Your letter written by Elisa.)

A similar kind of audience sensitivity in letters was found in the non-study first grade class of Ms. A, described in Chapter 3. Though she directed other subjects extensively, Ms. A. gave her children few directions in writing. Some wrote to her, not then as a giver of an assignment and an evaluator, but as a related-to-Other. One child began relating her joke with Voy a decirle un

joke, OK? (I'm going to tell you a joke, OK?). Another wrote that she was glad Ms. A. had returned to school and when it was her birthday, she would invite Ms. A. to her party. The rest of the letter contained many signals of graciousness, intended to ensure acceptance of the invitation.

(41) si puede traer la bebida y su esposo y va ver todos mis amiguitos y a lo mejor mira a mis hermanas. Yo voy a escoger el pastel más bueno para Ud. y le voy a dar medio de mi pastel para que se lleva para la casa para que se lo coman agusto...

(...if you can bring the baby and your husband and you're going to see all my little friends and maybe see my sisters. I'm going to choose the best cake for you and I'm going to give you half of my cake so you take it home to eat it comfortably.)

Such sense of audience did not have to wait for lessons in the fourth grade (or whenever it might appear in a scope and sequence chart). Instead, it occurred with the help of teachers that allowed or actively encouraged the use of written language to pursue and nurture genuine relationships between writer and reader.

4. Writing is sufficient for the development of writing.

From the variety of classroom practices we observed, along with longitudinal samples we gathered, it seems that not writing alone, but what was done or not done with the writing had great impact on writing development. Each of the three study classrooms had characteristic approaches to treatment of the children's writing.

To summarize very superficially, the first grade teacher and aide often asked children for more information, and pieces were kept in folders. The second grade teacher and aide complimented the child. Some of the writing remained in folders, some in the children's desks. The third grade teacher and aide corrected spelling, punctuation, and English grammar. Third grade papers were occasionally kept by the teacher. Most were disposed of as the children desired. The writing reflected this treatment. First grade pieces were often in two parts: the original and an unintegrated "addendum". Second grade pieces showed little evidence that the writer had re-read her/his own piece either during or after the writing (there were almost no erasures; there were frequent instances of repetition of a word or phrase, as if the writer had locked up, then begun again forgetting where s/he had left off, repeating the last word or leaving out words that had been originally intended, etc.)

Writing, yet no honoring of that writing in a published product, no discussion of content---just writing and lots of it per piece was even destructive in our estimation. It encouraged the idea that relatedness of ideas could be superficial, that numbers of pages mattered more than sense. Example (42) was 27 pages long. As was customary in the second grade classroom, it was praised at completion and honored for its length, but was subject to no revising, no editing, no peer dis-

cussion about either the ideas or the use of y within let
alone between clauses, the omission and repetition of
words, etc.

(42) Querida Mrs. J.,

Y ahora nosotros vamos a decirle de los indios Creek Indian. Y no sabemos mucho de los indios Creek Indians y nomás le voy a decir lo que sé de los indios Creek. Y son indios y no son malos. Y habfa un día que habfan indio y luego habfan y ayudan los indios. Y los hombres blancos y hicieron y luego les dijeron, a los indios Creek Indians y les dijo que se fueran de allí y que el desierto era de ellos y que se fueran. Fueron y siguieron y dijeron que ya se iban a mover y se fueron y ya estaban y duraron a cinco un cuatro y no y caminaron y duraron. Y unos indios les dijeron que se fueran a vivir a su desierto y se iban a ir y los blancos les dio una mapa y la mapa estaba mala, la mapa y mucho. Y dijeron que ya llegaron y descansaron y era una trampa que les hizo los hombres blancos y estan escondidos en las lomas. Luego salieron los hombres y no fueron a pelear y lo atacaron y los mataron a todos los indios y ninguno quedó de los Creek Indians. Y no era donde era los otros indios y era otro estado y no la hicieron a ir y los hombres se quedaron con el estado. Y la comida era frijoles. Y primero y no primero ellos bailaron y ellos estaban dos días, bailando un día y el otro día comfan y jugaban a stickball. Y le voy a decir cómo se juega la stickball y no y se puede a jugar con la mano y no se va hacer. Y las mujeres juegan con las manos y los niños también juegan con las manos y los hombres juegan con unos palos. Y pones una cabeza en un palo y si le pegas a la cabeza tienes dos puntos y no se juega bien a la pelota y se usa con los palos y estan trabajosos. Y ellos también comen el verde maíz y lo comen y está trabajosos y están muy bueno el maíz. Y comen también las cebollas que crece dondequiera y nomás los indios y no se comen a la cebolla. Y no se va hacer muy grande y es cebolla. Y también se come a la cebolla y se va a comer a la cebolla y es bueno para ellos la cebolla y está poquito chilosa y no tiene mucho. Y también comen las (undecipherable). Y comen las cosas que crecen en el campo y está trabajosos. Ellos estudian de los búfalos

y están trabajosos y para agarrarlos. Y si el búfalo se va a otra parte y los siguen a los búfalos. Y les gusta a los búfalos y porque de los búfalos agarran el cuero y para hacer las casas y de eso agarran el cuero para hacer las casas y son de pura (baketa). Y de eso hacen la (baketa) para hacer las casas y son de puro cuero. Y si no tuvieran y no los voy hacer estas casas y si no tuvieran el casas se fueran a morir con él que esta haciendo frío donde viven y por eso usen el búfalo para hacer las casas y las casas son...y son muy grandes los búfalos y por eso siguen al búfalo. Y te puede matar un búfalo y ellos solos que pueden hacer las cosas de los búfalos y son muy trabajosos los búfalos. Y son muy trabajosos para agarrarlos y solo muy trabajosos para agarrar a los búfalos. Y no los...y los usan hacer las... y puede agarrar las cueras de los búfalos y son muy trabajosas para agarrarlos y...y no los voy agarrar el. Y hacen las chaquetas y son muy bien y son muy trabajosas y si no tuvieran el búfalos y es todo lo que dijo. También los fuimos hacer las indio y los indio usan muchas cosas bonitas como los Navajos. Y no estamos estudiando de Navajos y son los Navajos. Y está muy trabajosas para hacer cobijas y por eso se cobijan, hacer las cobijas y son muy trabajosas para hacer las cosa como cobijas. Y las cobijas ellos las hacen de los búfalos y son muy trabajosos son. Y me gusta hacer eso y son muy trabajosos para hacer cobijas. Y si no hacían las cobijas y son muy trabajosas y me gusta hacer las cosas. Son muy bien para hacerlo las cosas. Son muy trabajosos.

(Dear Mrs. J.,
And today we're going to tell you about the Creek Indians. And we don't know much about the Creek Indians and only I'm going to tell you what I know about the Creek Indians. And they are Indians and they aren't bad. And one day, there were an Indian and later there were and they help the Indians. And the white men and they made and later they told the Creek Indians and he told them to go away from there and that the desert was theirs and that they should go. They went and continued and they said that they were there already and they lasted five and four and no and they walked and they lasted. And some Indians told them that they should go to live on their desert and they were going to

go to live on their desert and they were going to go and the Whites gave them a map and the map was a bad, the map and a lot more. And they said that they already arrived and rested and it was a trap that the White men made and they were hidden in the hills. Later the men went out and they didn't go to fight and they attacked him and they killed all the Indians and none of the Creek Indians were left. And it wasn't where it was the other Indians and it was another state and they didn't do it to go and the men stayed with the state. And the Indian meal was beans. And first and not first they danced and they spent two days, dancing one day and the other day they would eat and play stickball. And I'm going to tell you how stickball is played and no and you can play with your hand and it isn't going to be done (become?) And the women play with their hands and the children also play with their hands and men play with some sticks. And you put a head on a stick and if you hit the head you have two points and the ball isn't played well and sticks are used and they are difficult... And they also eat green corn and they eat it and it is difficult and the corn are very good. And they also eat onions that grow all over and only the Indian and they don't eat onions. And And it isn't going to become very big and it's onions. And also onions are eaten and they're going to eat and the onion is good for them and it's a little peppery and it doesn't have much. And also they eat the (undecipherable). And they eat the things that grow in the country and it's difficult and in order to catch them. And if the buffalo go elsewhere and they follow the buffalos. And they like the buffalos and because from the buffalo they get the skin and in order to make houses and from that they get the skin in order to make houses and they're totally of (baketa?). And from that they make (baketa?) in order to make things and they're totally of skin. And if they didn't have and I am not going to make these houses and if they didn't have the houses they might go out to die with him that it is cold where they live and therefore they use the buffalo to make houses and the houses are and the buffalo are very big and therefore they follow the buffalo. And you can kill a buffalo and they alone that can make things out of buffalo and the buffalo are very difficult. And they are very difficult to catch and only very difficult to catch the buffalo. And I like to

catch buffalo and not and they use them to make the and you can get the buffalo skins and they are very difficult to get and...and I'm not going to get it. And they make jackets and they are very nice and they are very difficult and if they didn't have the buffalo...and that's all he said. Also we went to do the Indians and the Indians use many pretty things like the Navajos. And it's very difficult to make blankets and therefore they cover themselves, to make the blankets and they are very difficult to make the thing like blankets. And the blankets they make of buffalo and they are very difficult are. And I like to make that and they are very difficult to make blankets. And if they wouldn't have blankets and they are very difficult and I like to make things. They are very nice to make things. They are very difficult.)

This very long piece is presented here in entirety so that readers might more fully understand the point being made: that writing with no reflection or that sheer quantity of writing can be destructive. So that the features of this pretend-letter (which was intended by the teacher to be both a Social Studies activity and a letter) are not taken as an indication of this child's writing under other circumstances, example (43) is presented. With brevity, there is only a hint of repetition, and no sign of and used as a filler. (written in response to the question: how do the kachinas fly?)

(43) Yo no sé como pueden volar y uno se llama la águila y el otro se llama hawk y sí puede volar. Y yo creo que pueden volar con los espíritus y son diferentes los espíritus y no son igual como nosotros. Son monos de ellos. Ahora nosotros estamos estudiando de indios y hay unos indios. Se llaman indios Hopis y hacen las casas diferentes que los otros indios y hay muchos indios dondequiera y se hacen diferente las casas y todo no lo hacen como los indios Hopis. Y es todo.

(I don't know how they can fly and one is named Eagle and the other is named Hawk and they can fly. And I think they can fly with the spirits and the spirits are different and they aren't the same as us. They are dolls (images) of them. Now we are studying about Indians and there are some Indians, they're called Hopis. And they make houses differently from the other Indians and there are lots of Indians all over and they make houses differently and they all don't do it like the Hopi Indians. And that's all.)

Though it appeared that what was done with the writing (third grade correction for form resulted in re-copied corrected pieces; first grade requests for more information produced two-part pieces; second grade ignoring of content and an emphasis on quantity resulted in loosely associated pieces full of repetitions) had a great impact, writing alone did have some benefits. It must have given children enough confidence in themselves as writers so that almost all tried to write in English, regardless of their oral proficiency, on the one occasion when we asked the teachers to ask them to do so. Moreover, the act of writing forced them to cope with all written systems at once. Unlike the classes where children only wrote phonic-exercise kinds of phrases or filled in worksheets, these children had to wrestle with syntax, spelling, referential meaning, handwriting, punctuation, writing for a particular audience, in response to someone's (usually not theirs) intention. Though it may seem paradoxical, it is the complexity of the task in acquiring oral or written language, the multiplicity of systems supporting

each other, that eases the burden (Harste, 1980 c). In that respect, writing alone was beneficial. But it is our feeling that the benefits could have been augmented greatly if the teachers had done more with the writing.

5. Teachers prefer that children obediently follow directions about writing.

It was during the interviews that the fallacy of this idea became apparent. Teachers' directions were apparently often ambiguous, with story used as a generic term (write a story about X, when a report was what was really intended). In addition, any direction is inherently incomplete, requiring the addressee to fill in or carry it out in an ad hoc fashion (Garfinkel, 1972). Despite the ambiguity, children apparently knew when to write a story in response to write a story and when to write a summary, a report, a plan, etc. At least, the teachers were satisfied that their directions had been followed. In addition, teachers apparently rarely directed children to come up with original ideas. Yet during the interviews, they indicated how pleased they were with writing that was original---and how unimpressed they were with writers who took assignments literally. In other words, these adults wanted the children to follow directions they had meant to give.

Myths about Learning to Write

1. Growth in writing is a linear accretion of discrete skills.

The counter evidence here is indirect and tenuous. Taking the view that growth was reorganization of a child's literacy knowledge, a reorganization that came about as the child had the chance to orchestrate the demands of multiple systems, it was possible to see the effect of increased demands from one system on production of another. That is, as with the evidence presented against the language proficiency myth that literacy is constant across context, the evidence against accretion is also partly the "improvement" or "regression" that occurred in one system when pressure from another system increased or decreased. If "skills" accumulated in linear fashion, then Christina would not have regressed to an earlier i spelling for y when she struggled to match color of marker to meaning of word (rojo i verde); handwriting would not have improved when syntax was simple and repetitive; segmentation would not have "deteriorated" with more difficult content, etc, etc. Of course, such variability could simply mean that the skills had not been "completely mastered" (though surely it should be acknowledged that even highly literate adults also "slip" in spelling and handwriting when struggling with difficult ideas in a first draft). To claim that this variability not only reflects the moment-to moment competition of demands from simultaneous systems (orthographic, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic), and not only denies accretion, but also that it proves reorganization is a big jump. For that,

we need data that show multi-system changes.

There were such data, but unfortunately, an incomplete set. These were data that show one view of text, at one period of time, with attendant segmentation, links, spelling, etc., and then another period's view of text with attendant segmentation etc. These hint at systematic shifts. Unfortunately, the earliest texts we have are probably too late to show a dramatic difference in what counted as a text to a given child. These earliest texts (from first grade, late Fall) were sometimes sentences related topically, segmented only between sentences, and linked with no or few lexical items, as in (44).

(44)

3 diciembre 1980
Hoy es miercoles.
buse el arbolito.
asimos un angeles.
asimo unas flores.

Hoy es miercoles.
Puse el arbolito.
Hicimos un angeles.
Hicimos unas flores.

(Today is Wednesday.
I put (up) the little
tree. We made some
angels. We made some
flowers.)

My suspicion is that there was a preceding time when a piece might have consisted of unrelated ideas, when, to the author, what made several words a text was their appearance on the same sheet of paper. Even with the topically related but unsegmented sentences, however, each had "its own line" and none were lexically connected to the others. By early Spring, this first grader's (and other

children's) written system seemed to have undergone a reorganization.

(45)

6 febrero 1981

Hoy es lunes.

hicimos. Matitas

as. i los pegamos

en un papel.

Hoy es lunes. Hicimos
matitas y las pegamos
en un papel.

(Today is Monday. We
made little plants
and we pasted them
on a paper.)

A different view of textness seemed to have developed, one where the wholeness was determined by content rather than by the page it was written on. Segmentation was now more conventional; a sentence and even a word could appear on more than one line, and main clauses were connected with lexical links (usually y).

It is through having to cope with all systems simultaneously that a child's System is reorganized (i.e., develops) (Harste, 1980c). When children went through drills (such as handwriting exercises where the child's name was written repeatedly) without having to cope with other systems (syntax, semantics, pragmatics), there seemed to be no increased control over what was drilled. Instead, they devised procedural strategies (writing all the d's, then all the a's, etc.).

2. Reading, writing, speaking, meaning, syntax, etc. are separate systems/processes compartmentalized in a language user's head.

What many of these pieces of writing and also the observations show instead is that a child had a pool of meanings that was tapped into for expression in different languages or different modes. For example, in Mr. B's second grade class, a child wrote one day the wonder woman got a man in the nait por estada rodando dinero en el danco. The child read his production to the observer: un día the wonder woman got a man in the night perque estaba robando dinero en el banco. The meaning of one day was available for expression in either language.

In a guessing game with key words, the hidden word was watermelon. An onlooker gave a clue: wa--, wa--. The guesser used the phonological clue semantically and came up with sandfa (watermelon in Spanish).

Our children saw movies in English or used English books on dinosaurs; they wrote about the movies and books in Spanish. The notion of redness, blue-ness, green-ness, etc. was available for expression lexically and also with colored markers.

I am not making the claim here that all meanings were available to these children in each of their languages and through each of their modes of expression. It is just that our data refute the idea that systems, modes, processes, languages, etc. are quite so neatly cordoned off from each other.

3. There is one pattern of writing development and all children go through it.

To some extent, this was true; that is, no child segmented by syllable in September and by clustering whole sentences together in April, although the reverse was true. By and large, however, there was great individual variation in the hypotheses the children created. Hyphens to separate words was the invention of a few children, stars between sentences the creation of one boy, k for qu but c for c in Spanish words was an equivalence for only one child. Additionally, some children seemed loyal to hypotheses concerning spelling, segmentation, endings, etc. for the entire year; others were much more fickle.

What did seem to be "universal" was the process of hypothesis-construction and the characteristic of intra-individual variation under different writing circumstances. As for "pattern of development", though there were group patterns concerning particular aspects (e.g., later first grade spellings were more often based on phonics generalizations than on phonetic features while the reverse was true earlier in the year; thus, phonics generalization might be considered a more sophisticated basis for invention than phonetic feature), no child followed the longitudinal group pattern in every part of each aspect. Some children did not change at all on some aspects; some moved steadily towards both conventionality of form and improved content (subjectively assessed); others appeared to get less conventional, etc. (This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.)

4. Print learners (or listeners) are passive creatures who "receive" a message.

Rather, we found that print assignments were offers in a contract which the literacy learner negotiated, that the literacy learner (reader/listener/writer) was an active sense-maker.

Sometimes children turned writing assignments (contracts) into drawing contracts or they changed the genre or the character they were supposed to write about. It was not merely that they "did it wrong". Instead, they actively refused the topic or genre or character and wrote something else. An earlier example, showed that when the assignment was to write something for the title If I Were A Penny, one child wrote that since he wasn't made into a penny when he was little, he wouldn't become a penny. In response to an assignment on the title Going to the Mountains, another began "I didn't go anywhere, not to the Mountains or anywhere. Yes I know the mountains but I've already been to the mountains..."

Not only did the children sometimes take an obviously active role in negotiating the print assignment, they also were active in constructing meanings. On several occasions, children pulled together information from various sources and tried to make it make sense through a new context and a new form (i.e., their own writing).

(46) El tenía a su mamá y luego él hizo promesas y él nació y estaba como yo de edad y luego le gustaba leer y a él le gustaba leer la Biblia y él era 16 presidente y sus vecinos le traían

libros y él estaba todos las noches leyendo libros y libros. El nunca se cansaba. Le gustaba estar en la chimenea y en el calentito y se me hace que también estaba leyendo el libro del presidente Carter y le gustaba leer los libros de los presidents y él era muy feliz. Y luego era su cumpleaños el 12 de febrero y todos los presidentes lo trataban muy bien y luego fue el cumpleaños del presidente Carter y así eran. Todos los años pasaron y pasaron los años y se me hace que el señor Ode era presidente, yo creo. Esta es la historia de los presidentes. Aquí es el fin de todos los presidentes.

(He had his mother and later he made promises and he was born and he was my age and later he liked to read and he liked to read the bible and he was the 16 president and his neighbors would bring him books and every night he was reading books and books. He never would get tired. He liked to be at the fireplace and in the little warm spot and it seems to me that also he would read the book of President Carter and he liked to read the books on the presidents and he was very happy. And later it was his birthday February 12 and all the presidents treated him very well and later it was President Carter's birthday and so it was. All the years passed and the years went by and it seems to me that Mr. Ode (one of the just-released hostage in Iran who was from this Arizona community) was president, I think. This is the story of the presidents. Here is the end of all the presidents.) (written by a first grader)

It was more than chunks of explicitly offered information that the children "filled in" to make understandable, but also features of written language that received no explicit mention. For instance, in November, first grade Marfa noticed and must have interpreted quotation marks as something special. She began to put them around her name. By Spring, quotation marks dropped out of her pieces, but she still signalled her name with a special device--- a de (of); her pieces now ended de Marfa. Elaborating

her name even more, in April she began using de + full name (first, middle, and last). The image of a passive print receiver or passive learner does not fit Marfa or any of the other children either.

5. Writing is a solitary activity.

Instead, both observations and the pieces of writing showed it to be highly social. Children talked as they wrote---about topics other than what they were writing about and also (occasionally) about what they would write or (more frequently) had written. Not only did the event feature socializing but pieces of writing sometimes showed the influence of conversations concerning what was being written. Three third graders wrote similar pieces about Sammy Skunk (a made-up character) who stunk. Several second graders were so excited by th idea of a crazy bone who outrageously blew his nose on his mother that they each included the same incident in their own Crazy Bone stories. Several first graders on the same day drew lines on the paper at the writing center and then numbered the lines.

"Social" also means child-adult interaction. These too were reflected in the pieces, as has already been described in an earlier myth. Adults' questions resulted in second parts of pieces and adults' corrections were accounted for in edited copies. At this point in their writing development, adult-child interactions influenced a piece of writing obviously and immediately. Presumably,

such interactions would later become internalized and their influence would appear more indirectly and less immediately.

6. A neat, conventionally spelled and punctuated piece of writing is better than a messy, unconventionally spelled/punctuated piece.

These data show instead that risk-taking in syntax or semantics was often accompanied by messy handwriting or more unconventional spelling and punctuation. The content, however, was rated of higher quality (more insightful, writer was more involved, etc.) than content in a "simpler" and neater/more conventional piece written by the same child.

Among the second grade subjects was one whose spelling, punctuation, and handwriting were conventional and neat. However, the content of his writing was often incoherent. (This was the child who frequently repeated se me lo vas throughout a piece.) His friend Agustin produced quite unconventional spelling and sementation, but with far superior content. The handwriting of classmate Moises was exquisite, but his unconventional spelling made several of his pieces totally undecipherable. Those that were decipherable were perfunctory and mundane.

The point here is not that conventions of form were irrelevant and that content was everything. Rather, on these almost entirely first draft pieces, it was completely impossible to correlate high quality handwriting with high quality content and usually unlikely that one could

make this correlation between spelling/punctuation and content.

7. Becoming literate means learning skills to mastery.

Rather, becoming literate meant the creation of hypotheses. Many segmentation hypotheses were based on syntax (no space within a prepositional phrase (47), no space within a sentence/main clause (47), a space between but not within an NP and a VP (48), etc.). Others were based on phonology/morphology (49).

(47)

Hoy es miercoles.

me compraron un libro

en la tienda Es libro de colorear.

Hoy es miércoles.
Me compraron un libro
en la tienda. Es
libro de colorear.

(Today is Wednesday.
They bought me a
book at the store.
It's a coloring
book.)

(48)

Hoy es jueves.

me gusta el Niño de

Dios - i

los reyes le trajeron

Hoy es jueves. Me
gusta el Niño de
Dios y los reyes le
trajeron...

(Today is Thursday.
I like the Son of
God and the kings
brought him...)

No le bolla alle ber, esto
cantaste san tolos
parame de un amoto
y la casa tiene un chano
yalli puede meter el amoto
paceno batlle mun cho melindo
lo por una bin tanana ymicasa
es 13 574 gracias

Yo le voy a llevar
esta carta a Ud. Santa
Clos para que me de
una moto. Y la casa
tiene un cuartito y
allí puede meter la
moto para que no
batlle mucho
metiéndolo por una
ventana. Y mi casa
es 13574. Gracias.

(I'm going to bring
you this letter Santa
Claus so you'll
give me a motorcycle.
And the house has a
little room and you
can put the motor-
cycle there so you
won't struggle a lot
putting it through a
window. And my house
is 13574. Thank you.)

Punctuation was accomplished with periods at the ends
of lines (50), capitals at the start of lines, periods at
the end of each page of a multi-page piece, a capital to
start each page of a multi-page piece, a capital to start
and a period to end a piece but no internal punctuation
(51), etc., etc.

(50)

Hoy es martes.
mi papa me.
compro el uajolote
i es grande el.
uajolote estaba
fria el uajolote
i mi mama lo
ba acostar.

Hoy es martes. Mi
papá me compró el
guajolote y es grande
el guajolote. Estaba
fría el guajolote y
mi mamá va a cocinar.

(Today is Wednesday.
My dad bought me the
turkey and the turkey
is big and the turkey
was cold and my mom
is going to cook it.)

(51)

Habia una vez un
fantasma andaba
arredor de la casa
así mucho ruido
i mi papá lo mato
no puidi dormir
des parte i le dije ~~que~~
andab un fantasma..

Había una vez un
fantasma. Andaba al-
rededor de la casa.
Hacía mucho ruido y
mi papá lo mató. No
pude dormir. Desperté
y le dije que andaba
un fantasma.

(Once upon a time
there was a ghost. It
was walking around
the house. It was
making a lot of noise
and my dad killed it.
I couldn't sleep. I
woke up and said to
him that a ghost was
walking around.)

Surely "skill learning" doesn't capture what was happening as children segmented and punctuated written language. Neither does "skill learning" apply to the differential treatment of logos and numbers. First graders often wrote about going to Circle K and to K Mart (two stores) and they mentioned the name of the university (ASU). They also wrote about quantities. They might have abbreviated the writing of both by using numerals instead of number words and logos (e.h., Ⓚ) instead of spelled-out names. This did not happen. They spelled out K Mart (ceimar, ceimart), Circle K (sircocci, ceircocci), ASU (eisu), but they wrote numbers either with numerals or with numerals plus number words (5 cinco días, catorce 14). They were clearly believing that number words were special, that logos were for signs but not text---that there were sub-categories of words requiring differential treatment.

Some children developed hypotheses about how to end texts (nicely, politely---e.g., es bueno/it's good, gracias maestra/thank you teacher; or with finality---e.g., es todo lo que quiero decir/it's all I want to say, el fin/the end). All hypothesized about how to spell words---to rely on: phonetic features (point of articulation in eschreya for estrella), Spanish orthography for English (ai joup llu gou/I hope you go), speech community norms of pronunciation (munchu for mucho). Some temporarily categorized the tilde (~) as an accompaniment for any nasal

(viño) or for any /y/ sound (sẽ llama). One child eventually extended the convention for journals for his classroom (hoy es ____ goes at the top) to writing in general, putting hoy es ____ somewhere on every piece he wrote. A first grader in Ms. A.'s class struggled with the problem of how to represent song in print. She came up with the answer shown earlier in example (12).

It is hypothesis construction characterized by invention, abandonment, adaptation, closer approximation, seeming regression, overgeneralization, etc. that was happening. To call hyphens between words "skill learning", to call the final hypothesis "mastery" is to deny the complexity of the role of the child and to deny the in-process process.

8. Written elements or parts of text structure are either present or absent in a piece of writing.

Instead, we found that elements could be present but not in the expected place in a text. Beginnings and endings, for example, were sometimes present but not at the beginning or the end. A second grader "wrapped up" her position paper, but rather than letting that end things, she added another argument.

(52) A mf me gusta agarrar a animalitos y darles comida pero no me gusta matarlos porque no me hacen nada a mf. Por eso, no me gusta matarlos porque ellos son mis amiguitos. Ni me pican.

(I like to catch little animals and feed them but I don't like to kill them because they don't do anything to me. Therefore, I don't like to kill them because they're my little friends. They don't bite me either.)

There were titles and announcements of type (este es un cuento/this is a story) that appeared at the ends of pieces. It is possible that there were also incipient paragraphs or perhaps sections of an outline. In those cases, a paragraph break might be represented by no explicit link between main clauses while, internally, main clauses were joined by y and other links.

(53) El viernes cuando nos fuimos para la casa yo me voy a jugar en la casa afuera porque yo queria jugar afuera y jugué con unas muchachitas y ellas jugaron conmigo pero muy bien pero yo no sabia que hacer cuando se metieron a su casa y yo me fui a jugar sola y vino un hermanito mio.

Vino y jugó conmigo y allí nos estuvimos jugando.

El sábado yo comí en la casa y miramos televisión.

En el domingo fuimos a la iglesia dos veces.

(Friday, when we went home I went to play outside at home because I wanted to play outside and I played with some little girls and they played with me but very nice but I didn't know what to do when they went home and I went to play alone and along came a little brother of mine.

He came and played with me and there we were playing.

Saturday, I ate at home and looked at television.

On Sunday, we went to church two times.)

9. Exploratory behavior with print stops after the earliest writing (i.e., after "scribbling").

Though the nature of the explorations changed, in fact they were evident through the third grade. First graders explored with designs in letters and around the page. They played with print display. For example, Roberto tried some variation of mirror writing in (54) and George tried out his version of cursive script (55).

(54)

dice
tomate

dice tomate comimos
berries

dice
tomate

comimos
berries

(S/he says tomato
we eat berries)

(55)

up 2970 on 0.55
Cen

But it wasn't only the youngest children who did this. Exploration in handwriting styles also occurred in second and third grades. Example (56) was probably based on "cholo" writing and (57) was an attempt to signal something non-referential (importance of words? location?) via contrasting scripts.

(56)

A mi me gusta jugar con M.
A mi me gusta jugar con J.
A mi me gusta jugar con M.
A mi me gusta jugar con A.
A mi me gusta jugar con C.
A mi me gusta jugar con M.
A mi me gusta jugar con J.
A mi me gusta jugar con M.
A mi me gusta jugar con A.
A mi me gusta jugar con C.
(I like to play with M.
I like to play with J.
I like to play with M.
I like to play with A.
I like to play with C.)

(57)

THE EASTER bunny
 ONE day I was walking
 and I saw the
 EASTER bunny and he
 gave me a ticket
 to his bunny show
 and it was very dark
 and when I came
 out I had a big
 big basket of pretty
 eggs and I ate
 them all

The Easter Bunny
 One day I was walking
 and I saw the Easter
 Bunny and he gave me
 a ticket to the
 bunny show and it was
 very dark and when
 I came out I had a
 big big basket of
 pretty eggs and I
 ate them all.

The children tried out a variety of punctuation marks
 or ways to signal finality.

(58) (a)

el fin de la
 dermide |
 ↑

(upright bar at end
 of last page of book)

(b)

tra vez de la
 la conja
 [el fin]

(c)

I an
 finish

And they experimented with "jazzing up" beginnings by elaborating the display of titles or otherwise differentiating them from the body.

(59) (a)

*How is ~~Ques~~ ~~how~~ ~~are~~
Piero
First in the capitol area*

(b)

*Ya tengo inquietud
Un día más en mi casa*

(c)

*El Conejo Chico
Un día el conejo chico*

Children also explored (or tested limits of propriety/ tolerance) with content when they wrote about a child/ crazy bone blowing his nose on his mother, when one mentioned he looked at a dancer's underpants during a program, and when they flouted norms by criticizing programs and movies they saw.

10. Beginning writing is speech written down.

Although children's written language was informal and reminiscent of speech in many ways, it also differed from their oral language. The children's oral narrations did not end with politeness or explicit finality (gracias maestra/thank you teacher, el fin/the end); written texts did. Language not intended for print did not feature a

frame repeated in quick succession (although there were cases of composing out-loud for a written product and also cases of chants in more game-like interactions where such frames could be heard). For instance, me gusta X, me gusta Y, me gusta Z was not a typical structure in an oral monologue, but it was common for written monologues. The children were well beyond the point of using telegraphic speech, yet some beginners wrote telegraphic-like sentences in their weaker and also their stronger languages.

(60) Today is Wednesday. We play store. We have stuff to play. Teacher brought motorcycle. We see black.

(61) Hoy es lunes. Miramos una novia. Miramos una muchachita. Andaba vestido de blanco. Comimos en el carro. Soda. Mis hermanos. Comimos. Mi papá toma cerveza.

(Today is Monday. We saw a bride. We saw a little girl. She was going along dressed in white. We ate in the car. Soda. My brothers. We eat. My dad drinks beer.)

The most striking difference between their oral and written language, however, was the rarity of written but the prevalence of oral code switching. If their writing had been speech written down, such a discrepancy would not have occurred.

11 In considering direction of control (or who controls what) it is the writer who controls the text.

Most of the time, this seemed to be an accurate statement, but there were a few instances that highlighted the fact that a text could take over and control the writer. For instance, a thought in advance about how a

piece of writing would look (e.g., the spellings of queremos and que) may have been the impetus for this spelling of clase:

(62)

yio xel q/ase
querimos que
te guste mucho

... yo y el clase
queremos que te guste
mucho...

(...the class and I
want you to like it
a lot...)

This child spelled all other instances of clase with a c.

In (63), the sound of the onomatopoetic miau may have triggered the association with miar (to pee) that then resulted in the out-of-the-blue quotation "tu miado, yo cagado". Although this is interpretable as a verbal assault in the fight scene between the cat and the hen, it still seems likely that it was something about the already-written text (the word miau) that influenced the production of what was yet to come.

(63)

yo tengo un pollito al pollito
ace ipio pio! el pollito
se va a jugar y
viene tiene hambre
el pollito ace ipio!
ipio! el gato lo
pica la madre
lo pica y el gato
ace !miaui y la

Yo tengo un pollito.
El pollito hace-¡pio,
pio!-. El pollito se
va a jugar y viene.
Tiene hambre. El
pollito hace--¡pio
pio!--. El gato lo
persigue. La madre
lo pica y el gato
hace--¡miaui!--. Y la
gallina le hace--tu
miado y yo cagado--.
Por eso la gallina y
mi pollito dice la
gallina y el pollito
estaba escondido.
Tenía miedo que el
gato lo agarrará.

gallina le ace tu mic y
yo cagac peresc la
gallina y ms pollito
dice la gallina y
el pollito estaba
escondida tenia miedo
cuaf gate la agorera

(I have a chick. The chick says, "Peep, peep". The chick goes out to play and comes (back). He's hungry. The chick says, "Peep, peep". The cat chases him. The mother bites him and the cat says, "Meow" and the hen says, "I peed and you pooped". Therefore the hen and my chick say the hen and the chick was hidden. He was afraid the cat will catch him.)

Text controlling (taking over, influencing) writer may be one way to think about similarities across texts by the same author. Sometimes, it seemed that a child found a way to say something and was so pleased with the find in one text that s/he used the device in several more. A second grader used grande no chiquito (big, not little) in a report on April 9th. On the 10th, he used the idea of opposition in two more pieces.

(64) 4/9/81

Yo quiero un perro grande no chiquito. (Undecipherable) quiero un grande y yo tenia un perro chiquito y estaba creciendo grande no chiquito.

(I want a big dog, not a little one (undecipherable) I want a big one and I had a little dog and it was growing, big, not little.)

(65) 4/10/81

...y estoy acabando la letra grande (undecipherable) no puedo hacer una chiquita y ya acabé.

(...I'm finishing the big letter (undecipherable) I can't do a little one and now I finished.)

(66) 4/10/81

Querida Sonia,
Yo quiero una letra grande no chiquita...

(Dear Sonia,
I want a big letter not a little one...)

¿Bien o no? (OK or not?) was the device discovered by another second grader. He was pleased enough to use it several times.

(67) 4/7/81

Sammy,
¿Estás bien o no? Te voy a decir que buscas los palos de los ice cream...

(Sammy,
Are you OK or not? I'm going to tell you to look for the ice cream sticks...)

(68) 4/10/81

Sammy,
¿Bien o no? Ahora vino un hombre...

(Sammy,
OK or not? Today a man came...)

In other words, a piece of writing and a writer were interacting with each other---with the writer, at least sometimes, obviously listening to the text, doing its bidding.

CONCLUSION

It is my hope that readers of this Chapter will be inspired simultaneously in two directions. These are: 1) inward—to become aware of their own beliefs about literacy, Language Arts instruction, bilingualism, etc, and then to hold them up for examination; and 2) outward—to look more closely at "raw data" (i.e., real writing and instances of authentic literacy in use) from the perspective of the

writer rather than the teacher/evaluator, to see what that
raw data is rather than what it is not.

Development of Writing in a Bilingual Program

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Volume 2

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FINDINGS FROM TALLIED CODINGS OF WRITING

This is not the first place in this report that findings appear; they have already been presented in other chapters. The preface and chapter 4 contain evidence that affirms a positive answer to the question: can data from bilingual/biliteracy programs shed light on literacy in general. Chapter 2 includes a long table showing the categories used for coding the data. These categories emerged after many trials and sortings of the pieces of writing; thus, they too should be considered findings. As a reminder, Table 14 summarizes Table 6 from Chapter 2 and emphasizes the number and types of categories used for coding the writing. The categories which were most closely tied to these data (i.e., were dependent for their existence on these data) are classified here as sub-types. For example, the data themselves suggested the nine sub-types under inferred basis for spelling invention (RINV); e.g., phonics generalization, sounding out strategy, phonetic features, etc.

Table 14

Numbers and Types of Categories

Aspect	Categories Indicated: Yes/No	A Number	This Many Sub-types
Codeswitching			
(wcs) word code switch		X	
(orth) orthography of switch			2
(both) does word appear in each language	X		
(wcls) word class of switched item			8

(phcs) phrase code switch	X	
(orth) orthography of		
phrase switch		2
(sent) is switch a sentence	X	
(fit) fits into flow	X	
(reas) reason for switch		5
Spelling		
(inv) treatment of multiple		
instances of word		4
(vinv)/(cinv) vowel/conso-		
nant inventions	X	
(rinv) reason for invention		9
Non-Spelling Conventions		
(SEG) segmentation--any		
conventional?	X	
(xconv) unconventional		14
(PUNC) punctuation		
(cpnd) sets of capitals		
and ends, expected and		
observed	X	
(obc/obe) observed capitals/		
end marks	X	
invented patterns and		
other types		16
(TILD) tildas-presence	X	
where used		3
(ACNT) accents-presence	X	
where used		6
(HWT) handwriting		8
Stylistic Devices		
(SET) settings		7
(CHAR) characters		11
(DIAL) dialogue	X	
(STSENS) story sense		2
(STYSYN) syntax that adds		
"Style"		9
Other Structural Features		
(TP) type		9 main, 32 subordinate
(LG) language		6
(UN) unassigned	X	
(WD) number of words		
(CTP) culturally specific		
topic	X	
(BT) bootlegged topic	X	
(AUD) audience		7
(ACT) accounting for the		
audience		15
(BEG) beginning		14

(END) ending	15
(OP) organizational principle	10
(COH) cohesion	
(EXO) exophoric reference	6
(LINK) links between clauses	X 59
(QATT) attributes of quality in the content	10

There are two major findings--two main themes:

- 1) development seemed to occur as a result of successive learner-generated hypotheses
- 2) learners' written products and presumably their hypotheses varied with all aspects of "contexts" for which we have comparison data (e.g., with teachers' beliefs about children's writing capabilities, with materials provided, with whether writers wrote out of their own intentionality, with language of the text, etc.)

As this study began, we took a "sociolinguistic" position---that development always occurs in a context. From the findings to be presented here and from those that appear in chapter 4, we now believe that the internal generation of individual and successive hypotheses about different cuing systems of written language occurs only through contexts; that different combinations of different-sized contexts promote different hypotheses, highlight different cuing systems.

The specific original research questions we were able to begin to answer with these data are:

- 1) what were features of different aspects (code-switching, spelling, etc.) in the writing of each grade level and of particular children at any one point in time and how did these change over time?
- 2) what was the relationship between writing in Spanish and writing in English?
- 3) what was the relationship between assigned and child-generated writing?

As was stated in chapter 2, codings were stored in and then sorted and tallied by computer. Some tallies used all the data; e.g., all pieces were sorted according to whether they were assigned or unassigned and punctuation patterns, for example, were tabulated for assigned vs. unassigned pieces. Other tallies did not use all the data; e.g., only codings from first grade pieces from the fourth collections that were journals or stories or letters or expository pieces or books (not poems, labels, or signatures) were tallied to find changes over time. Also only two collections were compared, the first (the second for first grade since that grade's first collection consisted only of signatures and strings of letters) and the fourth. Therefore, some sub-categories that appeared in the assigned vs. unassigned tallies, for instance, do not appear in the changes-over-time tallies, since the latter do not include the codings for two of the collections or for some of the rarer types.

A LOOK AT EACH ASPECT

CODE SWITCHING

Identifying written code switches was not a straightforward task. In much research, oral switches are deemed to be switches on the basis of phonetic realization. Since these children's spellings were often invented, we could not use orthography as the written counterpart of pronunciation. Sometimes, it is true, spelling helped us determine whether an item was a switch or whether it was integrated into the local dialect. For example, baica was not coded as a switch while bic (for bike) was. But what about espinach? That might have been an invention for Spanish espinicas or for English spinach. We did not count espinach or the few other truly ambiguous examples as code switches.

As can be seen from the crude index shown on Table 15 (a ratio of instances of all code switching to number of words), written code switching was a rare phenomenon.

Table 15

CODE SWITCHING, DEPENDING ON PREDOMINANT
LANGUAGE OF THE WRITING

	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>
Ratio of Code Switching		
Instances to Total		
Words	.009	.002
Single Word Switches*	.64	.83
Phrase Code Switches*	.36	.17
Word Class of Single Word Switches*		
address term/title	.26	
adjective	.09	
exclamation	.01	
noun + appropriate		
gender/number	.59	.14
preposition	.02	
verb	.04	.14
conjunction		.29
article		.43
Inferred Reason for Switch*		
clarification	.005	
direct quotation	.005	
ethnic group identity	.15	
emphasis	.005	
learned in that language	.54	
lexical variety	.30	1.00

* = percentage of code switches (e.g. % of word code switches that were adjectives).

(What none of the tables will show is that only two of the 26 children never code switched and that, for even the frequent code switchers, the phenomenon occurred on average perhaps once per piece.) When it occurred, it was mostly single words and thus intra-sentential rather than either intra- or inter-sentential phrases and clauses.

The main reasons for the switches seemed to be having learned the item in the other language (e.g., field

trip, stickball); using the item as a synonym (the way a monolingual text will alternate text, piece, written product, etc.), or matching a title (Mr., Sra., etc.) with the ethnic identity of the person. There were no written examples of a kind of switch that was frequently found in these children's oral language---the "translation" switch, used for clarification or emphasis (e.g., five bucks, cinco pesos).

In fact, the contrast between their written and oral usage is instructive. While many if not most oral switches were inter-sentential, written ones were within the clause. Most importantly, while a high rate of oral switching encourages the perception among many people that the children are using neither English nor Spanish, the low rate of written switching was evidence that they could honor the integrity of each language when the situation required it; that they were bilingual, not monolingual in some mixed variety.

Table 15 shows quantitative and qualitative differences in code switching depending on the language of the text. There were more switches from Spanish into English than the reverse. Switches in Spanish pieces were longer and were usually "referentially-inspired", i.e., nouns, which would be least threatening to the structure of the language, were the main items that were switched in Spanish texts. Switches in English pieces, however, were more like "slips of the pen". That is, an article or

conjunction would "slip out" in Spanish, but the use of Spanish would quickly be brought into check, as in y es fun, thank you or y el dinosaur is gonna be..

One should recall the data on the print environment from chapter 3. Much Spanish print was homemade, while English print was mainly commercially produced. Constraints against written code switching might have been more powerful, then, for the "real" language of school and of "slick" materials.

Table 16 shows code switching over the course of the year for each grade.

Table 16

CODE SWITCHING OVER TIME AND CROSS-SECTIONALLY

	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade X	
	CLT 2	CLT 4	CLT 1	CLT 4	CLT 1	CLT 4	CLT 1	CLT 4
ratio of CS to words	.03	.01	.01	.01	.008	.004	.01	.004
single word switches*	.43	.95	.83	.82	.71	.78	1.00	1.00
phrase switches*	.57	.05	.17	.18	.29	.22		
word class of single word switches*								
address terms	.33	.25	.60	.24	.20	.14		
adjective			.20	.08				
article		.10		.03				
conjunction		.05						
exclamation								
noun + appropriate								
gender/number	.67	.55	.20	.53	.80	.72	1.00	1.00
preposition								
verb								
inferred reason for switch								
classification								
direct quotation								
ethnic group identity	.08	.22	.33	.22	.14	.17		
emphasis								
learned in that language	.38	.33	.56	.50	.72	.50	.50	1.00
lexical variety	.54	.44	.11	.28	.14	.33	.50	

* = percentage of code switches (e.g. % of switches that were single words)

Here it is possible to see that older children switched less, that first graders decreased their switching during their first year of direct literacy instruction. The most switching, in an absolute sense, was done by the second grade, but since they wrote such long pieces to satisfy their teacher's length value, the ratio displayed on Table 16 masks this. Observers reported more oral code switching by the children and the adults in this classroom than in the third grade classroom. Occasional written switches even appeared on the blackboard in this room. Still, it is hard to know if it was more contact with published texts where no code switching can be found or less modeling of code switching by the classroom adults that influenced the drop among third graders.

For all children, nouns and address terms were the most frequently switched items. (Grade X, the two children in third grade who were less schooled, monolingual Spanish speakers from Mexico in September, wrote very little and in an absolute sense, code switched the least. Only two switches, both nouns, account for their 100% on Table 16.) Third graders made no switches in English texts and thus no function word switches.

Spelling

Table 17 summarizes the longitudinal and cross-sectional findings on spellings.

Table 17

SPELLING OVER TIME AND CROSS-SECTIONALLY

	<u>Grade 1</u>		<u>Grade 2</u>		<u>Grade 3</u>		<u>Grade X</u>	
	<u>CLT 2</u>	<u>CLT 4</u>	<u>CLT 1</u>	<u>CLT 4</u>	<u>CLT 1</u>	<u>CLT 4</u>	<u>CLT 1</u>	<u>CLT 4</u>
<u>Vowel Consonant Ratio</u>								
ratio of vowel to consonant inventions in English	.80	1.34	.86	1.77	1.62	1.44		
ratio of vowel to consonant inventions in Spanish	.54	.66	.91	.53	.29	.37	.19	.27
<u>Treatment of Multiple Use of Same Invention</u>								
<u>English</u>								
each different	.25*	.21		.11	.17			
all stable	.75	.53	1.00	.84	.75	1.00		
some stable, others different		.26		.05	.08			
<u>Spanish</u>								
each different	.28	.07	.18	.12				
all stable	.68	.86	.65	.83	1.00	.87	1.00	1.00
some right, others different			.13	.04		.06		
some stable, others different	.04	.07	.05	.01				
some right, others stable						.07		

Table 17 (cont.)

	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade X	
	CLT 2	CLT 4	CLT 1	CLT 4	CLT 1	CLT 4	CLT 1	CLT 4
<u>Inferred Basis of Invention</u>								
<u>English</u>								
Spanish orthography	.63	.54	.30	.49	.10	.04		
phonetic feature	.01	.09	.16	.11	.20	.23		
phonic generalization	.05	.09	.09	.14	.46	.45		
unknown	.01		.12	.05	.01	.04		
incomplete L2 acq.	.29	.21	.26	.19	.08	.22		
spelling strategy				.007		.01		
reversal				.003		.02		
letter reversal		.02						
speech norm		.02						
elision		.01			.01			
letter name		.03	.07	.01	.13			
<u>Spanish</u>								
phonetic feature	.38	.24	.20	.18	.12	.17	.09	.25
phonic generalization	.19	.45	.30	.39	.59	.51	.59	.35
unknown	.19	.10	.18	.14	.07	.07	.14	.17
incomplete L1 acq.	.01	.004	.20	.11		.12		.23
speech norm	.07	.10	.05	.10	.09	.08	.05	.05
elision	.07	.02	.02	.007		.007	.05	.02
Eng. orthography		.002			.05			
letter name	.04	.04	.07	.02	.06		.09	.02
letter reversal	.02	.03		.005	.02			
reversal	.02		.06	.03		.03		
spelling strategy	.002	.002	.05	.02		.01		

*=percentage of inventions (e.g., % of multiple English inventions in CLT 2 grade 1 which were different each time word appeared).

(It should be noted that Grade X used no English except for a few words copied off the board, which they spelled conventionally. Thus, there are no entries under any of the English categories on this table for that grade.) A ratio of vowel inventions to consonant inventions for each language was calculated after we began to suspect there were differences in this area across languages. Indeed there were. Children invented two to five times more vowel than consonant spellings in English than they did in Spanish. This is not related to the relative frequency of vowels and consonants in conventionally spelled English vs. Spanish. Counts of several pages of Spanish and of English published texts revealed that the proportion of vowels to consonants in English averaged .7; in Spanish it was .97. Thus, sheer frequency in the systems would have predicted relatively more vowel inventions in Spanish. The greater regularity of only nuclear vowels in Spanish orthography (Natalicio, 1979), not some generally greater grapho-phonetic regularity, is probably the reason behind this finding. A later table will show that consonants were an equal problem for the children; it was "easier" Spanish vowels rather than "harder" English consonants that accounted for the different ratios shown on Table 17.

There was much less English than Spanish spelling to analyze (only 49 of 524 pieces were written in English) and thus a relatively small data pool from which to investigate the treatment of multiple inventions for the same

word in one piece. The arithmetical problem this creates is that smaller numbers can easily make for higher percentages. Thus comparisons of the English and Spanish data on the category "treatment of multiple use of same invention" can be misleading. Table 17 (along with our subjective impressions) makes it seem that if an English word appearing more than once was spelled inventively, that word was more likely to be treated to a consistent invention than if it had been a Spanish word. However, since there were very few English words to begin with and therefore fewer opportunities to vary spellings, we cannot say with confidence that children's ideas about invariant spellings were stronger for English than for Spanish. The findings from collection 4 for the first grade further justify this reluctance. Because in April we had asked teachers to ask children to write at least one piece in English so that we could make some cross-language comparisons and because the earlier collections had no whole pieces in English from first grade, the fourth collection with its eight English pieces was probably more representative of the children's English spelling. As Table 17 reveals, the "stability" of spelling inventions for multiple instances of the same word decreased. Nevertheless, a quick glance shows that much of the time, children used the same invention for the same word throughout a piece, that whether it was Spanish or English, treating each instance of a word differently was an early but never a

predominant practice.

We are somewhat more confident of stating that there were different bases for spelling inventions depending on language because any English word (not just a word that appeared more than once in the same piece) could be used as data here. Earliest bases for inventing spellings of Spanish words were the use of phonetic features (e.g., manner and place of articulation), followed in frequency by the use of phonics generalizations and some unknown basis. After several months of literacy instruction, the phonetic feature and phonic generalization bases traded places and remained that way throughout the grades. The "unknown" basis dropped off (after a slight rise in second grade). A high number of inventions due to incomplete first language acquisition in the second grade (usually these involved irregular verbs) may have been related to topics second graders wrote about that elicited these verbs and therefore to opportunities to show the over-generalizations they were still making in their speech (e.g., duelfa, derived from third person duele, instead of dolfa).

Rather than beginning by inventing English spellings based on phonetic features, as they had done for Spanish words, children at first relied heavily on Spanish orthography for spelling in English. By second grade, with more exposure to English print, a phonetic feature strategy was

again in use; and with literacy instruction in English, phonic generalizations became the most common basis for inventions. The application of Spanish orthography dwindled considerably.

Several comments must be made about these sequences. First, it is clear that all "errors" are not equal. To quote Bissex (1981), despite our propensity "for calling all shades of gray 'black'", early invented spellings were quite different from later ones, even though all inventions would be equally "wrong" if they appeared on a spelling test. The early inventions were harder to decipher (phonetic feature-based were more difficult than phonics-based substitutions for adult analysts) and to infer any basis for whatsoever. Later inventions with these two characteristics (a phonetic feature basis; some unknown basis) were far less common. In sum, we saw later inventions as more "literate". Second, in using Spanish orthography for English spellings, the children were not necessarily spelling English words exactly as they pronounced them. As Groff (1979) reported that children in a speech correction class did not spell the way they mispronounced (i.e., they did not spell rabbit as wabbit), so our subjects also used conventional spellings (thus spelling contrary to pronunciation) as well as a variety of bases for English inventions. Third, more evidence for our claim that the children were developing two separate

orthographies appears in the third graders' writing.

(Other evidence, cited in chapter 4, is children's saving of the letter k for English.) With more information about English spelling, they could treat the system as one with its own integrity, repeat the strategies they had used for early Spanish spellings (phonetic features, letter names), and then settle down to relying primarily on English phonics generalizations.

NON-SPELLING CONVENTIONS

SEGMENTATION

Though the focus in both coding and reporting is on unconventional segments, it should be noted that only three out of 524 pieces had no conventional segments. As described in chapter 4 and listed in Table 6 in chapter 2, there were four bases for children's unconventional segments: syntactic, phonological/morphological, "anti"-syntactic, and "anti"-phonological/morphological. Just as Read (1975) found that invented spelling can reveal children's phonetic categorizations, so our data show that early segmentation can reveal syntactic categories.¹ Syntactically-based segments were such things as: no space within a main clause; space between but not within an NP and a VP; no space within an NP; no space within a VP; no space within a prepositional phrase; etc. (Examples can be found in Table 6, chapter 2.) Typical phonologically/morphologically-based segments put spaces between syllables or attached a syllable to an adjacent word. The two "anti"

bases were flagrant violations of syntactic or syllabic boundaries. An "anti"-syntactic segment might group together para que (so that) and no (NEG), elements from different constituents, to produce paceno. "Anti"-phonological segments left single non-syllabic letters stranded or attached them to adjacent words (e.g., m ela for me la).

On Table 18, the entries enclosed in boxes are those which occurred in over 30% of the pieces during some collection.

Table 18

HISTORY OF TYPES OF UNCONVENTIONAL SEGMENTATION

SEG Type		GR 1		GR 2		GR 3	
		CLT 2	4	1	4	1	4
Syntactically based	xprop	.46*	.13	.08	.02		
	NPVP	.07	.02	.13			
	notNP	.38	.24	.08	.04	.05	
	notVP	.30	.41	.42	.14	.05	
	notPP	.43	.15	.29	.14	.11	.10
	conj	.29	.44	.21	.20	.16	.20
	notAdj		.02		.01		
	notFrm	.02	.02	.04	.14		.07
phon/morph-based	nm	.05	.15	.04			
	syl	.16	.61	.33	.48	.32	.10
	sylW	.13	.28	.08	.08		
anti-syntactic	none	.02					
	notCP	.07	.26	.25	.08	.11	
anti-phon/morph	syll	.07	.13	.04	.20		

* = percentage of pieces that had that type of unconventional segmentation (e.g., % of CLT from GR 1 with xprop)

SEG = segmentation

GR = grade

CLT = collection

conj = no space between conjunction and adjacent word or between a string of function words

nm = no space between first and last names or name and title

none = no space within and also none between prepositions

notAdj = no space between adjective and adverb

notCP = no space between adjacent words from different constituents (e.g., let me give you a kiss).

notFrm = no space within a formula (e.g., thankyou)

notNP = no space within a noun phrase

notPP = no space within a prepositional phrase

notVP = no space within a verb phrase

NPVP = no space within but, yes, space between noun and verb phrases

syl = space between syllables of one word

syLL = single non-syllabic letter is either standing
by itself or is attached to adjacent word
sylW = syllable of one word is attached to adjacent
word
xprop = no space within a proposition

As these enclosures show, larger and more basic syntactic constituents became conventionally spaced before less central constituents. More verb than noun phrases, however, continued to be joined together. Possibly, the nature of verb phrases in Spanish (where, for instance, object pronouns move and become attached to the verb in certain tenses), rather than something about verb phrases in general, may have accounted for the greater "connectability" of Spanish verb phrases.

Syllables (syl and sylw), favored by four to six year olds over phonemes for metalinguistic analyses according to Clay (1977), became a leading basis for segmentation, even though the totality of all syntactically-based unconventional segments always exceeded phonological bases.

As with spelling and code switching, segmentation varied with language of the text and with genre, but this will be discussed later in the section relating writing in the L1 and in the L2 and in the section on differences depending on type/genre.

Syllabic segments were checked² to see whether the child-produced syllables followed English and Spanish, only English, or some unknown syllabification system. The overwhelming majority of syllabic segments were multi-

syllabic, fitting either English or Spanish syllabification rules (e.g., es taba, where taba is multi-syllabic and both es and taba are acceptable CV units in Spanish or English).

The writing of two frequent users of a syllabic segmentation strategy was examined to see if there was a pattern for when bigger (full) vs. smaller (half) spaces were used between syllables. We thought they might have used full spaces between syllables that were morphemes (e.g., esta mos) and half spaces between non-morphemic syllables (e.g., es ta). In fact, we found no such pattern.

All examples of segments coded as anti-phonological/morphological (syll on Table 18) were also examined to see if the stranded letter was more often a morpheme. It was not. However, we did find that only five children produced 130 of the 148 codings of syll. Two of these five produced 100, while 18 others produced none or only one instance. I now believe that the segmentation category of syll as well as the half space/full space phenomenon may have had as much to do with handwriting, a still undeveloped "consistent hand", as they did with segmentation.

PUNCTUATION. Table 19 (Punctuation Marks, Expected and Observed) shows that after the early collection in first grade, which contained some letters written under the watchful eye of a roving teacher and aide who "helped", children's provision of sets of punctuation marks seems to have remained constant until third grade.

Table 19

PUNCTUTION MARKS, EXPECTED AND OBSERVED
(IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS)

CLT	<u>Grade 1</u>		<u>Grade 2</u>		<u>Grade 3</u>		<u>Grade X</u>	
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
cpend ex	183	167	71	250	60	127	6	24
ob	41	20	12	32	14	30	0	0
obc	149	484	174	424	87	184	63	15
obe	110	43	36	157	24	44	1	0

cpend ex = expected set of capital and end mark
 cpend ob = observed set of capital and end mark
 obc = observed capitals
 obe = observed end marks

At this point, a few more sentences were conventionally punctuated. Capital letters were used far more often than periods. Probably this is related to handwriting; i.e., heavy use of upper case letters, like half and full spaces between syllables, may have been attributable to a still-unstable style of handwriting. Other patterns which may relate to handwriting, such as making all p's or t's with upper case letters (pcle) were used through second grade.

From Table 20, it is possible to see that early invented punctuation patterns (period at the end of each line (ppl), capital at the start of each line (pcl), capital or period to start or end every page of multi-page pieces (pcp, ppp), etc.) focused on local units such as lines, words, and pages.

Table 20

HISTORY OF VARIOUS PATTERNED, INVENTED PUNCTUATION

		Type	GR 1		GR 2		GR-3	
			CLT 2	4	1	4	1	4
Related to HWT or letter formation	invde		.11*			.11		
	pcle		.16	.13	.33	.17		.03
	pcw			.13		.04	.11	.03
Related to lines/ pages	pnol			.07				
	pcp		.04	.07				
	ppl		.14		.04	.01		
	ppw		.08					
	ppp					.01		
	pcl		.02	.07	.04	.03	.05	
Related to text	invend			.02		.03		.03
	ppe		.04	.04	.21	.10	.11	
	pmsf					.07	.21	.23

* = percentage of pieces (e.g., % of CLT 2, GR 1 pieces using invde)

HWT = handwriting

GR = grade

CLT = collection

invde = invented design (e.g., stars, curly letters, etc.)

pcl = unconventional pattern of a capital at start of each line

pcle = unconventional pattern of capitals on certain letters

pcp = unconventional pattern of capital starting each page of a multi-page piece

pcw = unconventional pattern of capitals starting certain words

pmsf = capital at start and period at end, with no internal punctuation

pnol = unconventional pattern of a number on each line

ppe = period at end of piece and no internal punctuation

ppl = unconventional pattern of a period at the end of each line

ppp = unconventional pattern of a period at the end of each page of a multi-page piece with no internal punctuation

ppw = unconventional pattern of a period after certain words

The function of these was usually separation; their use dropped off sharply after first grade. Patterns related to text-ness, however, increased with age (e.g., -capital to start and period to end an entire piece (pmsf)).

The two Grade X boys provide some tantalizing hints at answering the question of whether the segmentation and punctuation developmental trends in these data were due to increased age or increased experience with literacy. These two were older but had fewer months of formal schooling. Their early writing was like the first graders' in segmentation (e.g., they used no-space-within-propositions), but unlike it in punctuation (e.g., they did not use any—neither mundane nor charming inventions like stars between clauses or periods at the end of each line). Perhaps a general self-consciousness about writing, due to advanced age, prevented their use of extra marks. And punctuation was avoidable. Segmentation, of course, was not. Thus reduced experience with print resulted in less mature strategies.

Variation in punctuation, depending on language, type of piece, and assignment will be described in later sections on these topics.

HANDWRITING, TILDAS, ACCENTS. It was rare, even for first graders, for tildas to be required but not used. Almost always, they appeared where they belonged, except for a few times when they were placed over the wrong nasal (e.g., ñina instead of niña).

There was no appreciable shift across grades or over time within the year in the use of either tildas or accents. The few children who used accents used them appropriately for the purpose of designating a stressed vowel in what would otherwise be a diphthong. Occasionally, when accents were mis-used, they appeared when they were not required or on the wrong letter (either a consonant or another vowel).

There was, however, a change in handwriting. In the first collection from the third grade, cursive script appeared in 11% of the pieces. By the fourth collection, it was used in 87%. Obviously, this can be attributed to direct teaching of cursive writing in third grade. However, a small percentage (one to two percent) of pieces in the first and second grade also contained bits of cursive writing.

"Exploratory graphics" were also different depending on the grade. The youngest children made designs inside letters and lines of stars. Older children's embellishments were more content-related. For instance, one third grader made letters that looked like a skull and crossbones on a title for a pirate story.

ATTRIBUTES OF QUALITY IN THE CONTENT. Table 21 shows that children in increasingly higher grade levels wrote pieces rated increasingly better.

Table 21

QUALITY ATTRIBUTES OVER TIME AND CROSS-SECTIONALLY

CLT	<u>Grade 1</u>		<u>Grade 2</u>		<u>Grade 3</u>		<u>Grade X</u>	
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Attributes</u>								
Awareness of Purpose/Audience	0*	1	2	2	1	2	0	.5
Candor	1	1	1.5	1	1	2	0	1.5
Coherent	1	1	2	2	2	1.5	0	.5
Expressive Language	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Informativeness	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2
Insight	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0
Involvement of the Writer	1	1	1	2	2	2	0	1.5
Organization	0	1	2	1	2	2	0	0
Originality	0	0	2	2	2	3	0	2
Vocabulary	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1.5
$\bar{X}$ =	.4	.7	1.35	1.4	1.4	1.85	.1	1.05

* = median of three raters' assessments on 'awareness' dimension, on scale from 0 to 3, of all pieces for grade 1 collection 2.

The group that made the biggest jump in the course of the year was Grade X. The second grade group appeared relatively unchanged, corroborating the teacher's and aide's remarks about how some children had "regressed" over the year.

The content of English pieces was judged to include more expressive language and be more insightful and original than that of Spanish pieces (see Table 22), while assigned pieces were more informative and original than unassigned ones (Table 23).

Table 22

QUALITY ATTRIBUTES DEPENDING ON
PREDOMINANT LANGUAGE OF THE WRITING

		<u>Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>
Attributes	Awareness of Purpose/ Audience	1*	1
	Candor	1	1
	Coherence	1	1
	Expressive Language	0	2
	Informativeness	2	1
	Insight	0	1
	Involvement of the Writer	1	1
	Organization	1	1
	Originality	1	2
	Vocabulary	1	1
$\bar{X}$ =		.9	1.2

* = median of 3 raters' assessments, on 'awareness' dimension on scale of 0 to 3, of all Spanish pieces.

Table 23

QUALITY ATTRIBUTES DEPENDING ON INSTIGATOR OF PIECE

		<u>Assigned by Teacher</u>	<u>Unassigned</u>
Attributes	Awareness of Purpose/ Audience	1*	1
	Candor	1	1
	Coherence	1	1
	Expressive Language	1	1
	Informativeness	2	1
	Insight	0	0
	Involvement of the Writer	1	1
	Organization	1	1
	Originality	2	1
	Vocabulary	1	1
$\bar{X}$ =		1.0	.8

* = median of 3 raters' assessments on 'awareness' dimension on scale from 0 to 3, of all pieces assigned by teacher.

It is necessary to know some details about the collections in order to make sense of these findings. Most English pieces (63% of them) were written by third graders, while third graders wrote only 16% of the Spanish pieces.

Given that third grade pieces were judged to be "better" than first and second grade pieces, this likely accounts for the "superiority" of content written in English. The same kind of phenomenon accounts for the relatively poor showing of the content of spontaneously written pieces. First graders, who contributed only 32% of the assigned pieces and whose content was seen as least original, insightful, etc, wrote 88% of the unassigned pieces. Thus "unassigned" and "English", in this case, were actually and inadvertently other terms for "younger" and "older" writers.

COHESION

LINKS. The general pattern in use of links between clauses was to move from no links to the use of and between most clauses. This can be seen on Table 24.

Table 24

LINKS OVER TIME AND CROSS- SECTIONALLY

Type of Link	CLT	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade X	
		2	4	1	4	1	4	1	4
and		.37	.37	.31	.69	.40	.45	.14	.38
Ø		.63	.36	.57	.21	.30	.30	.86	.47
then			.01	.02	.02	.13	.12		.04
so			.04	.08	.03	.12	.05		.09
but			.01	.02	.02	.02	.02		.01
other			.01	.01	.03	.02	.01		
# of different links		4	11	10	14	16	23	2	11

* = percentage of all links in pieces by grade 1 in collection 2.

The exception is the first collection from the second grade. It is possible that these second graders had been in a first grade classroom that permitted little writing. In this regard and others (some of the spelling, punctuation, and segmentation data), their first collection seems less advanced than the fourth collection from the first grade. Aside from this exception, and corroborated by the first collection from Grade X, the least mature link seems to be "none", moving to a high use of and with some variety of other links that fall among categories proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), followed by a reappearance of "none" with a heavier use of a variety of links. Rentel (1981) has mentioned the refinement of "ties" when the child develops additional resources. Others (King & Rentel,

1980; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Harste, 1980b; Calkins, 1979) have discussed the varied meanings and functions for which a child uses and.)

I suspect that, had we collected data over a long enough time and perhaps more frequently, we would have been able to infer children's changing conception of what constitutes a text from their use of links and certain other written features. I believe the pattern, in exaggerated form for at least some children, that our data hint at is as follows:

1) a period when topically unrelated clauses or phrases were joined by no lexical links. At that point, what made different phrases into "a text" was their appearance on one sheet of paper, or perhaps their relationship to something in the environment (a picture, a teacher's question, etc.). (See Halliday, 1977) for other comments about children's expectations about text.) An example, from a classroom where phonics was emphasized and children were not allowed to write anything but exercises until Spring, is (1).

(1)

Es una mamá
Es una papá
Es una Tesa
Es una Ana
Es una Med
Es una está
Es una Tony
Es una Aidi

Es una mamá. Es una papá. Es una Tesa, Es una Ana.
Es una (Med?). Es una está. Es una Tony. Es una
Aida.

(It's a mama. It's a papa. It's a Tesa. It's an Ana.
It's a (Med?). It's an is. It's a Tony. It's an
Aida.)

2) a period when topically related clauses were placed one per line, when such clauses may have been treated to punctuation focused on separation, segments may have been whole clauses, and when there were no lexical links between clauses. Example (2) is such a piece.

(2) Hoy es martes.

4. anoche teníamos un conejo

4. anoche fuimos a la iglesia.

4. Tenemos un oso.

Hoy es martes.
Anoche teníamos un conejo.
Anoche fuimos a la iglesia.
Tenemos un oso.

(Today is Tuesday. Last night we had a rabbit. Last night we went to church. We have a bear).

A text now consisted of related ideas appearing on one page. (In example (2), the relatedness is achieved with time, anoche.)

3) a period when a text was a tight unit, with clauses connected by and, clauses having internal segmentation but probably no punctuation. At this point, what constituted "a text" was the glue of and.

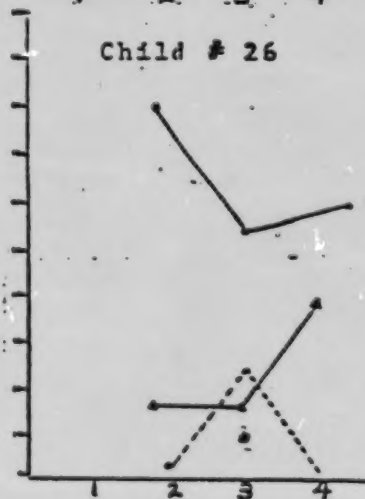
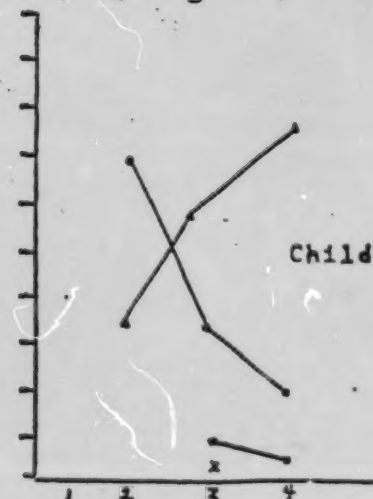
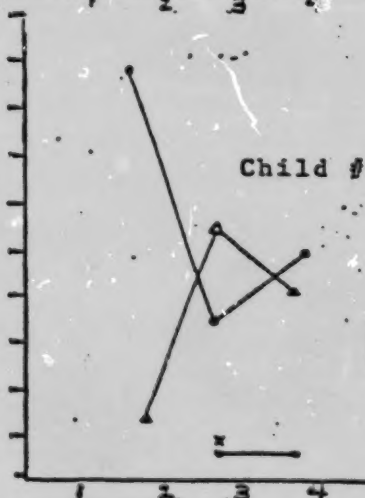
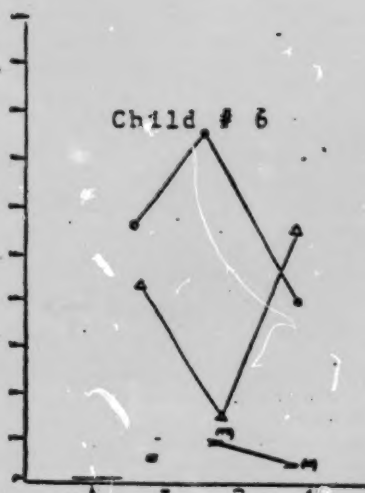
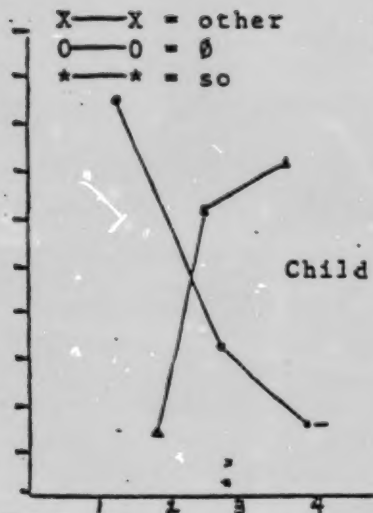
4) a period when the reader could be trusted to make some connections, when content determined text-ness. At this point, links could be more varied; there could even be sentences that were not explicitly linked. Punctuation concerned text-ness (e.g., a capital to start and a period to end a piece rather than a sentence).

To see whether any individual children followed part of the proposed path dealing with links, we identified high users of "no links" and high users of and. (Five of the six no-links children were first graders; the other was a Grade X child. One and user was a first grader, three were second graders, and two were third graders.) For each of these children, we plotted their use of links across the four data collections. Figure 1 displays the year-long use of links for children identified as high users of Ø (no links) in the second collection. Figure 2 provides this information for children identified as high y (and) users.

Figure 1

X — X = other
 O — O = 0
 * — * = so

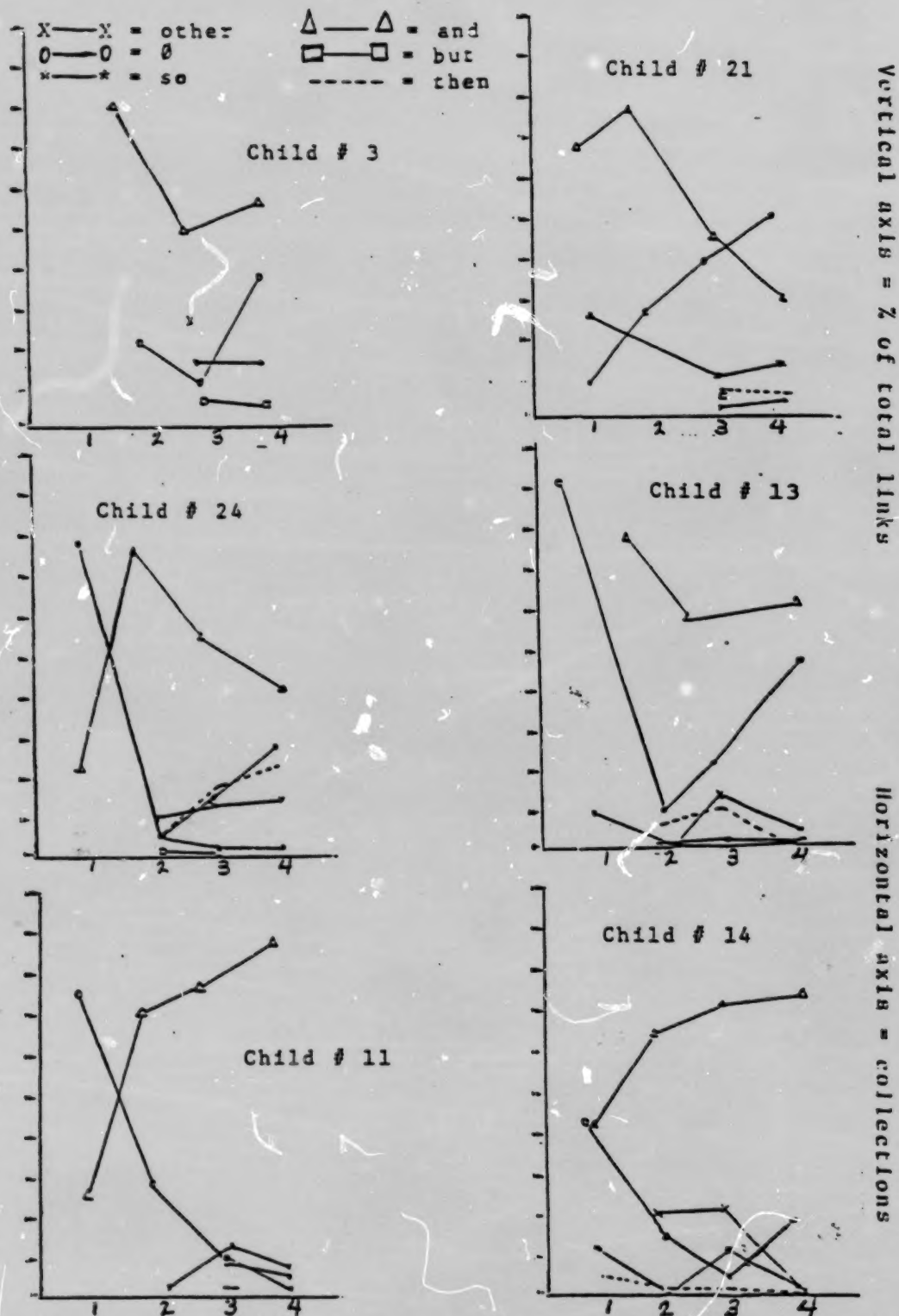
△ — △ = and
 □ — □ = but
 - - - = then



Vertical axis = % of total links

Horizontal axis = collections

Figure 2



As individuals, most of the high users did replace their $\emptyset$'s with y 's during the course of the year. The one outright exception was the Grade X child (#26) who stayed with high $\emptyset$. Most high y users, too, followed the proposed pattern. That is, if they had already gone through high $\emptyset$ use and had reached high y (it must be emphasized that this is conjecture), they should then have returned to an increase in $\emptyset$, a drop in y , and an increase in various other links. Child #3, the best reader and writer in her first grade class, according to the teacher and aide, did follow this pattern, as did the third graders (#'s 21 and 24). Child #13's only deviation was in not increasing so, then, but, and other. Children #11 and 14, however, continued their high use of y . Perhaps it took them longer than one year to go through this sequence, or perhaps this proposed sequence is in error. Because it seems to be tied to children's conception of an essential written unit (text) and to teachers' theories of literacy instruction (children in no-writing classrooms used the least mature links), this might be a worthwhile question to pursue.

Table 15 gives some information on how type or genre of piece affected links.

Table 25

LINKS, DEPENDING ON TYPE OF WRITING, OVER TIME AND CROSS-SECTIONALLY

Grade			1						2						3			X		
CLT			4						4						1			4		
Type	L	J	E	L	St	J	B	E	L	E	L	St	J	B	E	E	St	E	E	St
Type of Link																				
and	.39*		.60	.77	.69	.50	.07	.37	.24	.59	.65	.76	.71	.78	.39	.48	.42	.17	.42	.27
Ø	1.00	.61	.35	.16	.23	.42	.86	.44	.71	.33	.23	.14	.06	.18	.31	.30	.29	.83	.39	.67
but			.01			.08		.04		.01	.03	.03			.03	.01	.03		.03	
so			.03	.04	.08		.07	.12	.02	.01	.05	.02	.10	.02	.13	.05	.03		.11	
then			.01					.02	.02	.03			.10	.02	.12	.11	.14		.03	.07
other			.01	.01				.02		.03	.05	.04	.03	.01	.03	.05	.09			

E = Expository

L = Letter

St = Story

J = Journal

B = Book

* = percentage of links between clauses in 1st grade journals in the 2nd collection that consisted of various forms of and.

The early collection from first grade had only letters and journals and was very spare; i.e., there were few pieces with more than one clause. Moreover, letters were coached. Thus there was no use of y or any other link, while journals had some y usage. By the fourth collection, the and class of links exceeded 0, except in books. These were written one clause or phrase to a page (like many published picture books), and there were no lexical links between pages. In the first collection for second grade, letters again were coached, thus less likely to contain child-like clause beads on a string of and's. The only other notable inter-type difference occurred in the fourth collection from Grade X. Except for some use of then links, Grade X stories seemed less mature (regarding links) than expository pieces and more like early first grade journals.

From Table 26, it appears that English pieces had a more sophisticated profile of links than Spanish pieces.

Table 26

LINKS DEPENDING ON LANGUAGE AND INSTIGATOR OF PIECE

Type of Link	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Assigned</u>	<u>Unassigned</u>
and	.57	.41	.59	.55
0	.27	.38	.34	.27
then	.04	.11	.02	.05
so	.06	.04	.03	.06
but	.01	.03	.01	.02
other	.05	.07	.01	.05

* = percentage of all links in Spanish pieces

Once again, the heavy contribution of third grade writing to English pieces may have been responsible for this. Another possibility is that English was being acquired at least partly through written input, whereas Spanish had been acquired through oral interaction. Therefore, the children's written English may have relied more heavily on input from written modes, while their written Spanish may have been tied relatively more closely to speech.

Table 26 also sorts out links according to who instigated the piece, the teacher-as-assignment-giver or the child. Despite the fact that most unassigned writing was done by first graders, it was these pieces that had the greater variety of lexical links.

EXOPHORIC REFERENCE. There was less pronominal reference to people, things, and events that could not be recovered from the text in certain types of writing. Stories and books contained the least exophora in all grades. Early first grade letters, coached and often containing only one clause (thank you for the piñata), also contained no exophora. Third graders used slightly less exophoric reference than younger children.

OTHER STRUCTURAL FEATURES

CULTURAL AND BOOTLEGGED TOPICS. Despite our belief that we would find many references to culturally specific objects, events, ideas, etc. in the children's writing, these were very few such mentions. They appeared in only 5% of the pieces and they were single comments about

such things as lowriders, chicharrones, and piñatas.

What we did not anticipate, however, was the presence of what we called "bootlegged topics", outrageous or powerful or loaded topics that children seemed to slip into their writing under the safety of some other topic before quickly retreating to more innocuous ground. Mentions of drug-taking or misbehavior in school were examples. These topics too were rare ones and, like "cultural topics", did not seem to increase or decrease depending on whether a piece was assigned or not. There was only one instance of bootlegging, however, and no mention of culturally specific topics in English pieces.

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE. Most pieces were organized by the principle of association; i.e., by one idea triggering another so that the end might be far afield from the beginning. The next most common basis for organization was time, especially for stories and books. That English pieces were more frequently based on a chronologic might be attributed to a large contribution by third graders and to a bigger proportion of stories in the English collection (30%) than the Spanish (16%). Unassigned pieces were also frequently organized according to time, and these were mostly written by first graders. It seems that determining one's own topic or being able to tap into a schema for stories prompted children to organize by then, and then, etc. instead of this, that, etc.

Certain principles of organization which were not used frequently were interesting nevertheless. "Big shift" organization, characterized by very different, unconnected topics or functions in one piece, was more common for first and second graders than for third graders and seemed to be limited to certain genres. "Big shift" pieces were found among first grade journals and books (the one phrase per page variety) and second grade expository pieces. Big shifts in the latter were probably due to a frequent second grade assignment—to describe an object and then tell one's feelings about that object.

An organization deemed classificatory was hierarchically ordered around one major superordinate theme. Few pieces were coded this way. Still, for second and third graders at least, books and stories were the types treated most often to this more sophisticated organizational principle.

If a piece was organized on the basis of a frame, the appearance was as if the child had filled in a slot in a repeated clause (I like ___, I like ___, etc.). Grade 1 and Grade 2 letters were the sub-collections housing several pieces with this organization. It should be remembered that letters, a more "public" genre with much more potential for eliciting a "what will the neighbors (addressee) say" feeling in teachers, were more subject to adult coaching than other genres. Such coaching may have provided safe frames.

Two other organization categories were "random" (incoherent, a sprinkling of disconnected words) and "repeated phrases or ideas" (e.g., and I like it a lot and I like it a lot and I like it a lot, etc.). These were the worst "organizational" bases. One first and two second graders were the only children to use this kind of repetition, and one Grade X boy and two other second graders (all three were originally designated as low writers when we selected subjects) were the only children to place words on a page seemingly without regard to syntax (yo las a yo porque ya si ser y me a la.../I the to I because already if to be and me to the...).

BEGINNINGS AND ENDINGS. The most common beginnings were designated first parts—starting off with the first part of an event or story. That statement masks the inter-genre differences, however. First grade journals and all letters began with formulae. All books and third grade stories began with titles; expository pieces began with a statement of position, topic, or the first item in a list of ideas with no obvious logical order.

Pieces most frequently ended with a summary statement or a comment on an earlier part (not the whole) of a piece. For example,

- (3) Hoy es martes. Iba al cine con mi hermano y a Tejas con mi mamá. Hicimos guajolote para la Sra. H. (indecipherable) a la tienda con mi mamá comprar cosas para Christmas. Compramos una tela para mi hermana chiquita. Ella es chiquita.

(Today is Tuesday. I was going to the movies with my brother and to Texas with my mom. We made turkey for Sra. H. (indecipherable) to the store with my mom to buy things for Christmas. We bought some cloth for my little sister. She is little.)

However, once again, children varied endings with the genre. First graders ended letters with some polite expression and both first and last names. Journals from their fourth collection ended with both names also. I suspect that this was because children were instructed to use full signatures (for identification purposes) in these pieces written in English at the request of the researchers. Second grade letters ended with formulae, stories with a statement that "wrapped up" the whole rather than merely a part. (Again, as with organizational principle, the most sophisticated endings were found in stories.)

Though used infrequently, some endings appeared more often in unassigned than assigned pieces. Table 27 displays some of these contrasts.

Table 27

"INTERESTING" ENDINGS DEPENDING ON
INSTIGATOR OF PIECE

Type of Ending	<u>Assigned</u> <u>by Teacher</u>	<u>Unassigned</u>
explicit end	.08	.24
something "nice"	.06	.03
elaborated last phrase	.05	.12
by + name	.01	.09

Unassigned pieces had more text markers (explicit endings—el fin, fin, etc.), more of a dramatic "melody" at the end (elaborated last phrases—and we're coming every day, every day), more marks of authorship (by + name), and were less polite (fewer instances of "something nice" at the end). Perhaps these were some of the cues for our impressions that children were more involved with the unassigned pieces they wrote.

ACKNOWLEDGING/ACCOUNTING FOR AN AUDIENCE. The first thing that must be pointed out is that much "accounting for the audience" in these pieces is simply an artifact of the way we coded. That is, we judged that the audience in most cases, was the teacher-as-giver-of-the-assignment. Referring to the teacher in the third person, for instance in journal entries which frequently concerned school activities, was coded as acknowledging the audience. It certainly could be argued that the use of the third person for mentioning the teacher in fact ignored, rather than acknowledged, the teacher's role of reader/audience. Still, we coded third person references as acknowledgment. We also included second person references in this category as well as naming the audience in a heading. Thus, letters were the genre in which children took most account of the reader and journals were second highest in this regard—at least according to the way we coded.

Sub-categories that seem to be more genuine reflec-

tions of "accounting for an audience" were: makes marks for the reader (arrows, notes such as turn over), (mk), provides precise information (pinf), and relates own life to reader's (rlt) (makes an explicit connection—e.g., I know you like to fish and I do too). There were no differences between assigned and unassigned or English and Spanish pieces in the use of these ways of accounting for a reader. However, letters and books contained more arrows, notes, and other marks for a reader. The second graders, whose teacher gave them so much respect as thinking human beings in her interactions with them, were the only ones who "related own life to reader's"—and they did that in letters.

The most frequent coding for "acknowledgment of the reader", however, was "none". Most pieces showed no sign of any of our sub-categories. Interestingly, pieces children seemed most involved with (stories, books, and unassigned writing) were least likely to contain any sign that there might be a reader; they were most likely to evoke, in us as analysts, a sense of a writer-object relation than one of writer-object-reader. (There might, however, have been other authors, writing at the same time, who would look at the text as an object and giggle over some of its daring attributes, as when several children wrote books in which the main character was disrespectful to his mother. If readers could be present-with-the-writer, not just distant or solitary, then perhaps there

was no need to account for the audience with notes and arrows. Perhaps outrageous content was not just for the pleasure of the writer but for gaining prestige among fellow writers/readers).

STYLISTIC/STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS. Most settings were imaginary or school-based. Very few pieces contained dialogue. The most frequent characters were the author, fantasy characters, and school adults. Most pieces were written in the first person and used inconsistent tense or consistent past tense.

All pieces categorized as book, journal, letter or story were also examined to see if they contained gross structural elements and layout features usually associated with those types. Table 28 shows that almost all books, regardless of the author's grade level, had a title and a text, read from left to right and front to back, and had title/author information on a different page from the opening line of text.

Table 28

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS FOUND IN BOOKS FROM DIFFERENT GRADES

Grade	Total Books	<u>Structure</u>		<u>Layout</u>		
		Title	Text	Title Information on Different Page From 1st Part of Text	Closure on Left Side	Reads Front to Back
1	6	6	6	5	5	6
2	7	7	7	7	6	7
3	1	0	1	1	1	1
X	0					

Unusual Features found in some Books:

extra page for El Fin
 numbered pages
 book closure on right side
 dated title page, like journal
 vertical bar at end of text
 every page begins with y
 author information on last page

Second grade books frequently had numbered pages and
 first grade books sometimes had a separate page for el fin.
 The children seemed to know physical essentials of books.

Table 29 presents structure and layout features
 found in the children's journals.

Table 29

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS FOUND IN JOURNALS FROM
DIFFERENT GRADES

Grade	Total Journals	Datedness	<u>Structure</u>						<u>Layout</u>	
			Type of Event						Date Separate From Text	Sentences Extend To Next Line
			or	orc	orcp	*r	*rc	*rcp		
1	106	106	30	7	0	43	18	8	104	99
2	21	21	4	1	0	5	9	2	20	20
3	0									
X	0									

- or = mundane event, bare report
 orc = mundane event, report + comment
 orcp = mundane event, report + comment + explicit mention of what was problematic or how event was experienced by writer
 *r = out-of-the-ordinary event, bare report
 *rc = out-of-the-ordinary event, report + comment
 *rcp = out-of-the-ordinary event, report + comment + explicit mention of what was problematic or how event was experienced by writer

Unusual Features found in some journals:
 using mostly left side of paper
 using only back of page
 putting name on journal entry
 name and day on one line; date on next line
 name and text on same line

Adult journals usually have some signal of datedness, and to the outside reader, the events or problems with which they are concerned may seem either ordinary or extraordinary. Sometimes, they merely cite the event

(went to Marge's today); sometimes they comment (her kids are driving her nuts); sometimes there is explicit mention of what is problematic or noteworthy for the writer (was I so harried when mine were little?). Though we have no idea how often "sometimes" is in adult journals, we now have some notion regarding children's journals. They more frequently concerned out-of-the-ordinary (for the child) events (a birthday party, getting new shoes, moving, etc.) Most often, these were simply reported or briefly commented on. Rarely, there was explicit mention of how the writer was affected. If the event was out-of-the-ordinary, it was more likely to receive the more elaborate commentary. (It must be remembered that these were not interactive journals (Shuy, 1981) where child and teacher engaged in written dialogue.) As for layout, almost all journals had the date on a separate line from the text; most used running text (clauses continued onto the next line(s)).

Letters had fewer adult structure and layout features than journals and books did, as Table 30 reveals.

Table 30

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS FOUND IN LETTERS FROM
DIFFERENT GRADES

Grade	Total Letters	<u>Structure</u>				<u>Layout</u>				
		Heading	Text	Closing Formula (Optional)	Name	Heading Separate From Text	Date Separate From Text	Closing Separate From Main Text	Name Separate From Text	Sentences Extend To Next Line
1	15	13	15	4	13	12	8	0	8	15
2	55	52	55	43	44	46	48	3	13	49

Unusual Features found in some Letters:

tu amigo instead of more usual closing formulas in Mexico

hoy es x after the name

indenting 2nd sentence even more than paragraph indentation

short sentences are on separate lines despite room to begin new sentence; long sentences extend over several lines and next sentence begins immediately

dates without names

closing and name on same line

heading and main text on same line

writer's name at beginning

Most had headings and all had texts. More second graders used a closing formula (which is optional in informal adult letters—at least in the short ones I dash off to friends!), but more first graders signed their names. Headings were almost always on a separate line from the

body of the letter, but both closings and signatures were often connected to the body rather than on separate lines. First graders kept body separate from closing and signature more often than second graders did.

Several of the "unusual features" noted at the bottom of Table 30 indicate that the letters may have seemed more like schoolwork than genuine letters (writer's name at the top of the page, hoy es on some first grade letters). Also noteworthy is the commonly used closing, tu amigo. We wonder if the translation of school-ese your friend is common in this speech community or if children used it only because the teachers were unaware of the more flowery closings used in Mexico (and in this community?) and offered the children only this translation.

Stories were analyzed using Stein and Glenn's (1977) categories (setting, initiating event, internal response, attempt, consequence, and reaction). To be complete, a story must have at least one episode, according to Stein and Glenn (an initiating event or an internal response, an attempt, and a consequence). Simple stories (single episodes) can be connected in various ways to form multi-episodic stories. Table 31 shows that the proportion of complete to incomplete stories increased with an increase in grade level.

Table 31

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS FOUND IN STORIES FROM
DIFFERENT GRADES

Grade	<u>Structure</u>				<u>Layout</u>	
	Total Stories	Complete	Incomplete	Multi- Episodic	Title (if present) Separate From Text	Sentences Extend To Next Line
1	22	4	18	3	1	20
2	25	12	13	14	20	25
3	34	26	8	17	22	34
X	9	1	8	2	0	8

Unusual Features in Some Stories:

beginning with hoy es

ending with date

some 'complete' stories lack a well-defined focus

explicit and formulaic endings

There were also more multi-episodic stories in the higher grades.

SOME GENERAL CONTRASTS

As has been explained many times, this study conceptualized writing as developing in various simultaneous interacting contexts. That is, written products and hypotheses about writing would come about through interaction with any number of variables. Three that will be presented here are: the language of the text, the instigator of the piece, and the influence(s) of the teacher. Differences co-occurring with shifts in genre will be

presented in the section on findings from each grade level.

SPANISH VS. ENGLISH PIECES

Many of the differences in written pieces (and therefore in hypotheses), depending on language of the text, have already been discussed under each aspect. Table 32, however, brings all those differences together in one place.^{3,4}

Table 32

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPANISH AND ENGLISH PIECES

		<u>Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>
pieces		461	49
grade	3 ^a	.16	.63
OP	ass	.55	.43
	ti	.31	.49
	clas	.12	.10
	rdm	.04	
# of different links		44	16
SEG	syl	.36	.27
	conj	.23	.23
	not frm		.10
	not VP	.25	
	not pp	.20	
	syntactic ^b	.59	.61
	phon/morph ^b	.25	.27
	anti-syntactic ^b	.06	.11
	anti-phon/morph ^b	.04	.05
QATT	X =	.9	1.2
PUNC	hyp		.06
	pcw		.06
	pcle	.11	.06
	pmsf	.10	
	ppe	.07	
HWT	cursive	.08	.48
ratio of VINV to CINV		.51	1.49
RINV Sb	sorth		.25
	xL2		.19
	phgen	.38	.32
	phft	.26	.15
	x	.10	.02
ratio of code switching to # of words		.009	.002
wcls	n+	.15	
	add	.07	
	art		.06
	conj		.04
	egi	.06	
REAS	ll	.21	
	lv	.12	.06

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of Spanish pieces from grade 3). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of entries in that category (e.g. % of RINVS that were sorth).

Most pieces were in Spanish; most English pieces were written by third graders. This accounts for many of the Spanish/English differences that were tallied by computer. That is, more mature writers contributed a greater proportion of the English than the Spanish pieces..

In some respects, English pieces seemed "better". More were organized (OP) on the basis of time (ti), fewer were based on loose association. No English pieces consisted of an assortment of random words (rdm). (The Grade X child who produced these in Spanish did not even try to write in English.) There were fewer unconventional segments in English pieces and these were either syllable-based or clusterings of low level syntactic units (e.g., formulae, conjunction + adjacent word).

The segmentation findings might be partially explained by the fact that the youngest children did not write in English at all at the point when they were using the least mature segments (e.g., no spaces between or within propositions). Thus, these types did not appear in English. Differences between the two languages may also help explain these findings. Parts of English verb phrases (e.g., to + V) and parts of Spanish verb phrases (e.g., se (reflexive pronoun) + V) may be more closely related than other parts. In fact, children did produce examples such as tusi (to see) and meamo (me llamo). My impression is, however,

that Spanish uses these "closely related" parts such as reflexives more than English uses infinitives. In any case, the children (if not the Spanish language) used more of them in their writing. They therefore had more opportunities to unconventionally group together parts of Spanish than English verbs.

There were also fewer hard-to-read spelling inventions (rinv) based on phonetic features (phft) or some unknown basis (x). The source of the children's language proficiency might help explain both this finding and some of the segmentation findings too. The children had acquired Spanish through oral language interactions. Part of their English proficiency, however, may have come from English print, since school records revealed that many were monolingual Spanish speakers prior to entrance to school. Thus, some of their knowledge of spelling and word boundaries in English may have been less susceptible to influence from oral elisions and phonetic categories and more tied to visual images.

The mean of 10 attributes of quality of the content (QATT) was also higher in English pieces.

In other respects, Spanish pieces were "better". They had a larger variety of lexical links between clauses. Punctuation for English pieces was more related to letter formation (ncle, pcw); in Spanish pieces it was related to marking the start and finish (pmsf) or ends of texts (ppe).

Third graders tended to revert to manuscript writing for English; for Spanish they wrote in cursive. (The percentages on Table 32 seem to deny this, but only 16% of the Spanish collection was by third graders, and many of these pieces were written before cursive became the mode for third grade writing. An increase in third grade use of both English and cursive coincided to produce the 48% shown on Table 32.)

Other differences that signal neither "better" (more mature) nor "worse" are the findings on word classes and amount of code switching, which was discussed earlier, and differences in settings and characters, which do not appear on Table 32. In English pieces, there were no settings coded as "community" and no characters coded as "family". The children were apparently making some topical division according to language.

If there was inconsistency in regard to "better" and "worse" tallied findings, the same wavering can be seen concerning "same" and "different". Looking at pieces written in each language by the same child (and ignoring the tallies, which are irrelevant here), we find the following cross-language similarities. Some children used the same type of unconventional segmentation for each language. A wonderful example of this is third grade Ray whose first written language was English. He always clustered together and then, but not other strings containing and. In Spanish, he did the same thing, grouping

y luego and keeping y + other words unconnected. Examples

(4) and (5) are pertinent here.

(4)

One day I was	<u>entire</u> & <u>entire</u>
when <u>entire</u> I found	" <u>entire</u> my air
a plane and I	port got bigger
turned it on and	and bigger and bigger
I took off very	that I could
far from home	fit 5000 air plane
<u>entire</u> I came	in it it had
back home and	everything far than
I kept that	sky harbor air port
<u>plane</u> and I made	and all the people
myself a air port	came there and that
<u>entire</u> I had 2	is the end

One day I was walking and then I found a plane and I turned it on and I took off very far from home and then I came back home and I kept that plane and I made myself a airport and then I had 2 airplanes and then 9 and then 10 and then my airport got bigger and bigger that I could fit 5000 airplanes in it. It had everything far than Sky Harbor Airport and all the people came there and that is the end.

(5)

Una vez yo estaba
andando idlego
esta llovendo
gato 2 perro 2 me
meti en mi casa
idlego cuando para
yo gata 20 perros
2 30 gatos idlego
yo vendi todos los
gatos 2 pero idlego
vendí 2 gata
mucho dinero

Una vez yo estaba andando y luego estaba lloviendo gatos y perros y me metí en mi casa y luego cuando paró yo agarré 20 perros y 30 gatos y luego yo tenía todos los gatos y perros y luego vendí y agarré mucho dinero.

(One time I was walking and then it was raining cats and dogs and I got into my house and then when it stopped I got 20 dogs and 30 cats and then I had all the cats and dogs and I sold and I got a lot of money.)

Children applied Spanish orthographic knowledge to English pieces. Some children used a similar syntactic style (strings of para's/in order to's) in each language or a similar way of filling up space to satisfy a teacher's requirement for long pieces or a similar solution to the pragmatic problem of how to end a piece.

Other children, however, wrote Spanish and English pieces which exhibited the following differences. A few segmented heavily by syllable in Spanish but not English. Almost all spelled the /k/ phoneme with a c, cu, or qu in Spanish but with a c or a k in English. Several children used much greater syntactic complexity in Spanish (many embeddings, strings of adverbial clauses). One child consistently ended Spanish pieces explicitly and English

pieces implicitly, which was the way he had ended Spanish pieces earlier in the year. Code switching and script for handwriting was different, as has already been explained.

What the "better" and "worse" tallies show is the number of factors that are involved when one says that language of the text influences writing hypotheses. The differentially heavy demand on certain cuing systems when language shifted (e.g., syntax) that was compensated for by other systems (e.g., graphic—script); language proficiency (e.g., knowledge of a variety of lexical links); the source of language proficiency (e.g., oral interactions vs. oral and written sources) and others were all part of the context called "language of the text" which was reflected in the tallies.

What the "same" and "different", piece-by-piece comparisons reveal is that children applied (not a passive transfer, but an active application/adaptation/modification/etc.) what they knew about L1 writing to L2 writing. While the "differences" produced by the same child might look like non-application if one holds to a linear, discrete skills, a-contextual model of writing, they are clearly evidence of application if one maintains a model that captures both the recursiveness of accessing and juggling multiple cuing systems and the highly contextualized character of the process. When children applied "what

they knew about L1 writing", they were applying everything from specific hypotheses about segmentation, spelling, and endings to general strategies for literacy acquisition (use the input—Spanish print does not have K's; English print does not have tildas and accents), to high level knowledge (that texts are contextually constrained), to a crucial process (orchestration).

Language of the text, with all attendant factors, certainly affected the children's writing. The nature of the relationship between L1 and L2 writing was not one of interference (early use of Spanish orthography in English did not prevent children from coming to know English orthography on its own terms, from increasing their use of English-based phonic generalizations). Rather, it was one of application, of using and adapting what was already known in order both to fill in for what was not yet known and to push the limits, to go beyond what had been done before.

ASSIGNED VS. UNASSIGNED WRITING

Among our study children, only the first graders had many opportunities to initiate and control their own writing. Such opportunities were also available in two other classrooms. In one of these (Mr. M's class), the children could not only initiate but could expect genuine responses from the recipients of their letters. This discussion then will present both tallied findings and contrasts between individual pieces written by children

other than our 26 subjects.

Table 33 shows that when children wrote out of their own intentionality in the three study classrooms, they did not write journals or letters.

Table 33

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ASSIGNED AND UNASSIGNED PIECES

		<u>Unassigned</u>	<u>Assigned</u>
pieces		34	490
grade	1 ^a	.88	.32
	3		.22
IP	B	.18	.02
	E	.47	.20
	St	.27	.17
	J		.27
	L		.08
LG	E	.06	.10
WD	$\bar{X}$ =	37	52
END	dt	.17	
	end	.24	.07
	nm 1+2	.12	.05
	pos	.12	.07
	sall	.17	.08
	spt	.53	.55
	xnxt	.12	.04
	nc		.13
	nice	.03	.06
CHAR	fam	.26	.18
	fant	.32	.23
	peer	.32	.12
	self	.32	.55
SET	com	.17	.08
	hom	.15	.07
	sch	.15	.17
	imag	.17	.17
PUNC	ratio of obc to obe	8	3.56
	pmsf		.10
	pnol	.09	.004
ACT	none	.88	.60
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	.8	1.0

a = percentage of pieces.

(In Mr. M's class, they did write unassigned letters.) Except for one child, neither did they write in English. Unassigned pieces were shorter. However, assigned pieces included the motley genres from the second grade that went on for over 20 pages. First grade unassigned pieces (we have no tallies of grade-by-grade unassigned vs. assigned writing) seemed longer, but I am not confident of this. Endings in child-instigated writing were not only more elaborate, marked, etc., as already discussed in relation to Table 27; they were also more sophisticated (wrapping up the totality--(sall)) and less likely to lack closure (nc)). Fewer unassigned pieces had the writer (self) as a character; more concerned peers. Probably this can be attributed to the nature of assignments rather than a spontaneous preference for peers. Settings were more likely to be home and community. Children seemed to be more taken with large unlined paper (making their own lines and numbering them (pnol)) and with what they had to say (emphasizing its importance with many capital letters (obc)) than with punctuating the text or accounting for a reader (ACT) in unassigned pieces.

Despite what seems to be a preponderance of tallied differences favoring unassigned pieces, subjective ratings of quality of the content (QATT) slightly favored assigned pieces. Again, the differential contribution of first grade to unassigned and third grade to assigned collections probably accounts for this discrepancy.

A somewhat more convincing picture of the value of allowing children to control their own writing comes from comparing individual pieces written in several different classrooms. Readers might recall from chapter 3 that while Ms. A controlled and parceled out other lessons, she allowed children considerable responsibility for writing. And in her classroom, a wider variety of genres were written, including jokes, songs, and pleas. Examples (6) and (7) are excerpts from pieces from Ms. A's classroom.

- (6) Ms. A, le voy a decirle un joke, ok? Ud. conoce a los Polacks? Pues, había tres Polacks y uno estaba cargando una jarra de agua y el otro Polack estaba cargando una canasta de comida y el otro estaba cargando una puerta de un carro...

(Ms. A, I'm going to tell you a joke, OK? You know about Polacks? Well, there were three Polacks and one was carrying a jar of water and the other Polack was carrying a basket of food and the other was carrying a door from a car...)

- (7) El nombre del siseeeelo (a song being sung)
os pido posaaaaaada...

(El nombre del cielo
Os pido posada...)

In the first grade study classroom, several pieces of unassigned writing were more poetic than anything written by the same children for assignments. Examples (8) and (9) contain such contrasts.

- (8a) (unassigned; beginning and ending)
Todos los días cae nieve en todas las partes y
también caía lluvia en todas las partes...

....Era cuando estaba cayendo nieve.

(Every day snow falls everywhere and also rain was falling everywhere....

....It was when the snow was falling.)

- (8b) (assigned writing by same child during same collection period)

Hoy es jueves. Hicimos monitos de nieve y los pegamos en una tabla y se miran bonitos.

(Today is Thursday. We made little snowmen and pasted them on a board and they looked nice.)

- (9a) (unassigned beginning)

Siete naranjas se caeron y el árbol está triste en lagrimas...

(Seven oranges fell and the tree is sad to the point of tears...)

- (9b) (assigned writing by same child during same collection period)

Estimado amigo,

Hay muchas reportes y jugamos yo y mi hermanito.

(Esteemed friend,

There are a lot of reports and we played, my little brother and I...)

Example (9b) is a "pretend-functional" piece of writing, an assigned letter, written to no one. This is not the kind of interactive, intimate writing that Shuy (1981) advocates as necessary for writing development. Contrast this with excerpts from letters from Mr. M's class. These letters were written on the initiative of the children, were mailed, and were responded to by Mr. M. They were genuine queries, threats, complaints, excuses, clarifications, etc.

- (10) Querido Mr. M,

¿Quién son las señoras que vinieron y yo lo he visto a la Sra. que tiene anteojos en la tienda..

(Dear Mr. M,
Who are the ladies who came? And I've seen
the woman who has glasses at the store...)

Mr. M,
Se me olvidó decirle mi perro tiene 6 dedos y
no estoy diciendo mentiras...

(Mr. M,
I forgot to tell you my dog has 6 toes and I'm
not telling lies...)

Querido Mr. M,
¿Porqué no me ha mandado mi carta? Dígame en
la carta cuando me va a mandar la carta porque
si no me dice yo me voy a enojar con Ud...

(Dear Mr. M,
Why haven't you sent me my letter? Tell me in
the letter when you're going to send the letter
because if you don't tell me I'm going to get
angry with you...)

Especially when looking at the original work, but even
when assessing tallies such as those found on Table 33,
it seems clear that there were different decisions made
about content, form, and reader/writer relationships
depending on whose motives instigated the writing.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

There were no tallies to help us here, but classroom
observations, anecdotal running lists, and writing col-
lected from a variety of classrooms throughout the program
suggest provocative connections between teacher activity
and pieces of writing. Teacher activity might be cate-
gorized as either direct (i.e., the teacher intended to
have a specific effect) or indirect (i.e., the teacher
was not aware of the effect of a particular action; the
teacher intended to have only the most general effect,

such as "to make children want to write"; or the teacher's direct attempts at influencing had additional unintended consequences). The teacher's activities and beliefs influenced both "large" and "small" features of writing.

Direct Influence

Most obviously, teachers' assignments and their antecedent beliefs had a direct impact on genres written. When Ms. D thought children could only write their names, that is all she assigned, and that is all children wrote officially. When she thought they could write journals, they wrote journals. In another first grade classroom where the teacher had little confidence in children's writing ability, at the end of the year children were just beginning to write captions and "stories" that resembled worksheet language. Meanwhile, Ms. D's class had been writing a variety of both assigned and unassigned genres for the past several months.

The writing center, provided by Ms. D with the express purpose of "unleashing creativity" did seem to elicit pieces that were more poetic.

Ms. C's articulated belief that longer pieces benefited development must have been related to her students' production of 27 page pieces, while the longest non-book piece from the other second grades were five pages.

Teachers believed that sound was the basis for spelling. They intended to influence children to appeal

to sounds while spelling a word—they gave phonics lessons as well as advice to "sound it out". Inventions based on phonics lessons ("y and ll make the same sound"; therefore, yo was spelled llo) and added letters, usually glides, from elongating words (mallestra) were probably teacher-influenced or at least teacher-strengthened strategies.

On a few occasions, Ms. C. tried to model "composition" so that children would not connect all sentences with y. She elicited single sentences from the children and made a chart story. Then she asked them to write their own. In fact, they did write pieces in "chart story style" (Santa Claus brings presents. Santa Claus brings cars. Santa Claus goes out at night, etc.) Though this syntax and text organization was not typical, children could and did produce it when the teacher supplied the eliciting conditions.

Indirect Influence

Though certain features of the children's writing probably did not appear as a result of the teachers intentions, there was still a connection between the writing and what teachers did. For instance, teachers established a print environment for very general purposes related to development of literacy. One characteristic of the print environments in the classrooms was that more Spanish print was homemade (teacher-made posters, dittos, children's work, etc.) while more English print was

commercially produced. Without intending it, teachers may have made Spanish print seem less formal and more hospitable to code switching. Children's more frequent code switching in Spanish texts may therefore have been related to the character of the print environment the teacher created.

Though Ms. D intended for colored markers at the writing center to entice children to do more writing, there were also other results of providing this material. One was that color became a topic so that pieces could be full of color words written in matching markers.

An unforeseen consequence of providing a writing center where children could have more control over their own writing was a decreased use of punctuation in pieces written at the Center. Apparently, certain aspects of semantic and pragmatic cuing systems received so much attention when the writer was the instigator that punctuation received little.

Teachers' beliefs about children's abilities and about appropriate assignments had unintended consequences for text structure. Assignments to produce "motley genres" (teacher-created juxtapositions of several topics or functions, such as directions to make a social studies report and extend an invitation, all rolled into one letter) coupled with a premium placed on length produced pieces organized associatively, with big shifts, and full of repetition, large writing, and empty spaces. As Smith

(1982) and Teale (1980) indicate, sheer quantity is not necessarily enabling. As Smith says, children are better at "furthermore" than "on the other hand". Therefore, when they are encouraged to write more, they merely repeat.

Teacher's beliefs about childrens' capabilities as writers (or perhaps about their own as teachers of writing) were evident from the beginning. The first grade teacher who believed children could not write until they could spell and who felt children's writing had to be carefully controlled, spent much time on phonics lessons and occasionally took dictation from the children. Though children in her class began the year like children in the other first grade classes, just writing their names or strings of letters, by January the only "texts" they wrote were single phrase captions for pictures, accompanied by a sentence dictated to and transcribed by the teacher or aide. By June, these children's pieces contained more phrases, but most of these were disconnected; the words used resembled the "controlled vocabulary" of phonics workbooks. In fact, only 15 of the 50 pieces this teacher had saved as "good examples of writing" consisted of coherent texts, and all of these were flat, general reports (I have a teacher. I go to X school, etc.). In other words, though this teacher's intention was to teach conventional spelling and elicit "correct" pieces of writing, her practice (stemming from her beliefs) encour-

aged children to hypothesize that texts they produced for her should have no topical theme but should be structured around, for example, repetitions of short or long vowels. This was an extreme example of Graves' (1979b), Harste, Burke, and Woodward's (in press), Boiarsky's (1981) and many others' admonitions about a focus on form detracting from and distorting content.

By contrast, most of the time, Ms. A, who either believed children could control their own writing or that she could not teach writing, let the first graders write whatever they wanted. While the "phonics classroom" children were writing amo a mi mamá, a mi mamá amo, Ms. A's children were writing texts with complete joke structures (see example (6) in a preceding section), coherent summaries of movies they had seen, and a variety of other types.

Teacher activities that were intended to and resulted in children writing out of their own intentionality also seemed to enhance children's involvement in their writing. The excerpts shown in example (10) in the preceding section are from pieces written because the teacher wanted to give children an opportunity to write "authentically". They were not part of lessons to "develop a sense of audience" (Kroll, 1978); they were a result of relationships that were developed through both oral and written language. By providing mailboxes and genuine responsive-

ness, Mr. M also gave children the opportunity (which they took) to "own" and "own up" in their writing.

Teachers' beliefs and classroom practices, language of the text, instigator of the piece—these were not the only contextual vehicles for writing development. Administrative policies on evaluation strengthened certain beliefs/fears that teachers had, which in turn affected children's writing. Cultural values (children should behave in school; home and school are very separate domains) most likely influenced topics that were not mentioned as well as those that were. The poverty of the area contributed to a lack of books and magazines and newspapers in homes and stores, while the relative power positions enjoyed by two languages could be seen in the negligible number of Spanish books in the neighborhood library that served many monolingual (and monoliterate?) Spanish speakers. Speech community norms were seen in children's written non-standard syntax and morphology. Our analyses do not permit more than this mention of these effects. However, the relation of one more "context", type or genre, to features of writing will be presented shortly.

THE "TYPICAL" PIECE

Table 34 is offered so that the most frequently appearing sub-categories might be seen and compared across different sub-collections.

Table 34
Typical Piece

Type	Spanish Pieces	English Pieces	Assigned	Unassigned	Letter GR1, CLT2	Letter GR1, CLT4	Journal GR1, CLT2	Journal GR1, CLT4	Story GR1, CLT4	Expository GR1, CLT4	Book GR1, CLT4	Expository GR2, CLT1	Expository GR2, CLT4	Letter GR2, CLT1	Letter GR2, CLT4	Story GR2, CLT4	Journal GR2, CLT4	Book GR2, CLT4	Expository GR3, CLT1	Expository GR3, CLT4	Story GR3, CLT4	Expository GRX, CLT1	Expository GRX, CLT4	Story GRX, CLT4
Unassigned # of words	51	52	52	37	10	65	17	27	27	41	25	25	75	34	45	62	29	99	48	78	61	39	64	49
Cultural topic	-	-	-	-	pin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Language	S	E	S	S	S	S	S	E	BT	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Audience	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg	gen	inad	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg	gen	gen	gen	Tdg	Tdg	out	out	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg	Tdg
Accounting for Audience	-	-	-	-	h	h	-	ref3p	-	-	-	-	-	h	h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beginning	lpt	lpt	lpt	lpt	frm pos	frm	frm	frm	lpt char frm	lpt	lpt	pos	tpc	frm	frm	lpt	lpt	ttl	lpt pos item	lpt	ttl	item	item	item char
Ending Organizational Principle	opt	opt	opt	opt	pol	nml+2	opt	nml+2	opt	opt	opt	opt	frm	opt	opt	all	opt	opt	opt	opt	all	opt	nc	nc
Exophoric Reference	as	t	as	ti	as	as	as	as	ti	as	sp bs	as	as	as	as	ti	as	ti	as	as	ti	as	as	as
Link between clauses	y	and	y	y	ß	y	ß	and	y	y	ß	ß	y	ß	y	y	y	y	ß	y	ß	ß	ß	ß
Setting	imag	imag	imag	sch	sch	sch	com	sch	imag rex	imag	-	-	sch	-	sch	imag	sch	imag	rex	sch	imag	rex	rex	imag
Dialogue Character	-	-	-	-	-	self	self	schad	comad	fant	an	self	self	self	self	fant	self	fant	self	self	fant	an	an	an
Number of Characters	2	2	2	2	0	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	3	1
Person	lp	lp	lp	lp	-	lp	lp	lp	3p	lp	lp	lp	mxp	mxp	lp	3p	lp	3p	mxp	lp	3p	mxp	3p	3p

Table 36 (cont.)

	Spanish Letter	English Letter	Assigned	Designate	Letter CL1, CL2	Letter CL1, CL2	Journal CL1, CL2	Journal CL1, CL2	Story CL1, CL2	Expository CL1, CL2	Book CL1, CL2	Expository CL1, CL2	Expository CL1, CL2	Letter CL1, CL2	Letter CL1, CL2	Story CL1, CL2	Journal CL1, CL2	Book CL1, CL2	Expository CL1, CL2	Expository CL1, CL2	Story CL1, CL2	Expository CL1, CL2	Expository CL1, CL2	Story CL1, CL2
Tones	incom	incom	incom	incom	-	compt	compt	compt	incom	incom	compt	incom	incom	compt	incom	incom	incom	incom	compt	compt	compt	incom	compt	incom
Stylistic Syntax	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Conventional Segmentation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Unconventional Seg- mentation Type	syl	syl	syl	syl	conj notfrm notIF notIF	notIF	prop	syl notIF	syl notIF	syl	syl	notIF	syl	notIF	syl	syl	syl	conj	syl	notfrm notIF	conj	notIF	conj	notIF
Picture	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
I provided of Punctuation sets	21	18	14	8	0	12	24	19	0	13	3	9	7	24	7	20	9	16	23	23	24	0	0	0
Invented punctuation Pattern, if any	-	-	-	pcu	-	pcp	ppl	pcu hyp	hyp	pcu pnl	pcl end	ppo	ppo	ppo	ppo	hyp	pnl ppo	end hyp ppp	pnl	pnl	pnl	-	ppp	ppp
Vildes	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Location of Inapp'to Vildes, if any	napp	-	napp	-	-	napp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	napp	-	napp	napp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Accents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Accent used appro- priately for	atr	-	atr	atr	-	atr	atr	-	atr	atr	-	atr	atr	-	-	-	atr	-	atr	atr	-	-	-	-
Location of Inapp'to accents	one	-	one	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	one	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Curly handwriting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Treatment of mult. Sp. Spell. Inv.	ota	-	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	-	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota
Treatment of mult. Eng. Spell. Inv.	ota	ota	ota	ota	-	-	ota	ota	-	-	-	-	ota	ota	ota	ota	ota	-	ota	ota	ota	-	-	-

Table 34 (cont.)

	Spanish Pieces	English Pieces	Assigned	Unassigned	Letter GR1, CL12	Letter GR1, CL14	Journal GR1, CL12	Journal GR1, CL14	Story GR1, CL14	Expository GR1, CL14	Book GR1, CL14	Expository GR2, CL11	Expository GR2, CL14	Letter GR2, CL11	Letter GR2, CL14	Story GR2, CL14	Journal GR2, CL14	Book GR2, CL14	Expository GR3, CL11	Expository GR3, CL14	Story GR3, CL14	Expository GR3, CL11	Expository GR3, CL14	Story GR3, CL14
Ratio of Spanish Vowel to Consonant Inventions	.51		.50	.63	.46	.84	.57		.62	.64	.41	.86	.52	1.02	.49	.86	.34	.62	.27	.40	.32	.20	.10	.29
Ratio of English Vowel to Consonant Inventions	1.25	1.49	1.39	1.89		1.25	.80	1.37		1.0	2.0		1.86	1.27	1.29	2.05	5.01		1.62	1.87	1.32		1.00	
Reasons for Spanish Spell. Inventions	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phft	phgen	phft		phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen	phgen
Reasons for English Spell. Inventions	north	phgen	north	north		north	north	north		north	north		north	north	north	north	north		phgen	phgen	phgen		north	phft
Word Code Switching	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Phrase Code Switching	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Word Class of any Word Code Switch	nt	art	nt	nt add		nt	nt	art		add	nt	nt	add	nt	v	nt	nt adj	nt	nt				nt	-
In Phrase Code Switch																								
Formulate	+	+	-			+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
Reason for Code Switch	.11	lv	11	egl 11 lv		11	lv	lv		egl	11	lv	11	11	lv	11	lv	11	11				11	
Overall Quality of Content	.9	1.2	1.0	.8	.9	1.2	.5	.6	1.45	.9	1.2	1.2	1.05	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.4	1.9	2.1	.1	1.3	.6

Legend:

Type E = expository; L = letter; St = story; J = journal;
 B = book

Unassigned - = assigned; + = unassigned

Cultural topic - = none; pin = piñata; BT = bootlegged topic

Language S = Spanish; E = English

Audience tdg = teacher as direction/assignment-giver;
 inad = in school adult; gen = general; out = child out
 of class

Accounting for Audience - = none; h = refers in heading;
 ref3p = refers to audience in 3rd person; clPRO = in
 closing pronoun

Beginning lpt = first part of event; frm = formula; pos =
 position on topic as goal of piece; char = explicitly
 establishes character; ttl = title; tpc = explicitly
 establishes topic; item = first item in an unordered
 list

Ending spt = summary of or comment on one part of piece;
 pol = politeness; nml+2 = first and last names; frm =
 formula; sall = summary/ wrap up of total piece; nc =
 no closure

Organizational Principle as = associative; ti = time; sp =
 space; bs = big shift in topic/goal partway through;
 rdm = random words/phrases

Exophoric Reference w = writer; w+ = writer and others;
 - = none; rdr = reader; ttl = title

Link Between Clauses y = y (and); and = and; Ø = no explicit
 link

Setting imag = imaginary; sch = school; com = community;
 rex = real but unknown

Dialogue - = none

Character self = self; fant = fantasy; schad = school adult;
 comad = community adult; fam = family member; an =
 animal

Person lp = written in first person; 3p = written in third
 person; mxp = mixed person

Tense incon = inconsistent; conpt = consistent past, conpr =
 consistent present

Stylistic Syntax - = none

Conventional Segmentation + = some or all

Unconventional Segmentation Type syl = segmented into
 syllables; conj = no space between conjunction and
 adjacent words or between string of function words;
 not frm = no space within a formula; not NP = no space
 within a noun phrase; not pp = no space within a
 prepositional phrase; not VP = no space within a verb
 phrase; xprop = no space within a proposition; not cp =
 no space within adjacent parts from different consti-
 tuents

Picture - = none; + = yes

Invented Punctuation Pattern - = none; pcw = capital for
 certain words; pcp = capital to start each page; ppl =
 period at end of every line; hyp = hyphen separating
 syllables or words; pno1 = number to start each line;
 pcl = capital to start each line; end = inverted end
 mark; ppe = period at the end of piece; pmsf = mark at
 start and finish; ppp = period at end of each page
 Tildas - = none and none required; + = present; Ø = required
 but not present
 Location of Inappropriate Tildas napn = on another nasal
 Accents - = none
 Accent Used Appropriately for Str = stress
 Location of Inappropriate Accents onc = on consonant
 Cursive Handwriting - = none; + = some or all
 Treatment of Multiple Spanish or English Spelling Inventions
 sta = stable for all instances of that word
 Reason for Spanish Spelling Inventions phgen = phonics
 generalization; phft = phonetic feature; xL1 =
 incomplete L₁ acquisition
 Reason for English Spelling Inventions sorth = Spanish
 orthography; phgen = phonics generalization
 Word Code Switching - = none; + = some
 Phrase Code Switching - = none
 Word Class of any Word Code Switch n+ = noun in appropriate
 gender/number; art = article; add = address term; v =
 verb; adj = adjective
 Is Phrase Code Switch Formulaic - = no; + = yes
 Reason for Code Switch ll = learned in that language; lv =
 lexical variation; egi = ethnic group identification

* see table 6 in chapter 2 for fuller definitions and examples

Because of the huge number of categories, other tables show only those where there were differences between certain sub-collections (between Spanish and English pieces, for instance). Table 34 is an attempt to present findings on all categories in one place. The only comment to be made on this table is that for many categories, the predominant coding remained almost unchanged across language, assignment, type of piece, time, and grade. It is the codings that kept "almost" from becoming "all" that have been discussed at greatest length already and that will be presented in the sections to follow.

WITHIN GRADE DIFFERENCES AMONG TYPES/GENRES OF PIECES

Tables 35 through 40 present a picture of differences among types for a given grade at a given collection time. Only the first (the second for first grade because the first collection consisted only of signatures) and fourth collections were tallied for this purpose. Also, comparisons among types could only be made for types that were in that collection. That is, the reason some tables compare five and others only two types is because that was what was available for comparison. The tables will not be discussed exhaustively because the task and the page toll would be enormous. Readers are also reminded that these tables have entries for only the most frequently used sub-categories.

Table 35

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TYPES, GRADE 1, COLLECTION 2

		<u>Journal</u>	<u>Letter</u>
pieces	-	50	5
wd	X =	17	10
ACT	cl	.04 ^a	
	ref 3p	.04	
	h		1.00
	dirSA		.40
	pol		.60
BEG	frm	.96	1.00
	lpt	.50	
	pos		1.00
END	spt	.46	
	nc	.18	
	pol		.80
OP	ass	.54	.40
	ti	.22	
EXO	w+	.64	
	w	.54	
LINK ^b	Ø	.61	1.00
	and	.39	
SEG	xprop	.52	
	not pp	.46	.20
	not NP	.38	.20
	not VP	.34	
	conj		.20
	frm		.20
PUNC	ppl	.16	
	pcle	.18	
	invde	.12	
	ppw	.08	
INV S ^b	sta	.67	1.00
	dif	.29	
ratio of code			
	switching to		
	# of words	.03	
QATT	X =	.5	.9

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of journals that had ACT cl). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of entries in that category (e.g. % of LINKS that were Ø).

Table 36

DIFFERENCES AMONG TYPES, GRADE 1, COLLECTION 4

		<u>Expository</u>	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Story</u>	<u>Journal</u>	<u>Book</u>
pieces		21	7	2	9	6
UN ⁺		.67		1.00		1.00
WD	$\bar{X}$ =	41	65	27	27	25
ACT	pol	.14	.28			
	h		.43			
	clPRO		.28			
	ref 3p				.44	
BEG	lpt	.76	.57	.50		
	frm	.14	.71	.50	1.00	
	pos	.28				
	stg	.28				
	tcl	.14				1.00
	item		.43			.67
	char			.50		
END	spt	.57	1.00	1.00	1.00	.50
	pos	.24				
	dt	.33		.50		
	nm 1+2	.19	.57	.50	.67	
	frm		.42	.50		
OP	ass	.52	1.00		.67	.33
	ti	.38	.43	1.00		
	bs				.56	.50
EXO	w,w+	.66	.71		.44	.67
LINKS ^b	Ø	.35	.16	.23	.42	.86
	and	.60	.77	.69	.50	.07
	so	.03	.04	.08		.07
	then	.01				
	but	.01			.08	
	other	.01	.01			
STYSYN	lp	.47	1.00		.56	.33
	3p	.38		1.00		
SEG	syl	.67	.57	.50	.33	.83
	conj	.62	.71	.50		
	not VP	.43	.71			
	sylw	.24				.50
	syll			.50		
	not NP					.50
	not cp				.33	.50
PUNC	pcw	.14			.22	
	pnol	.14				
	pcp		.29			
	pcle				.22	
	hyp				.22	
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	.9	1.2	1.45	.6	1.2
ratio of CS to words		.007	.02		.01	

Table 36 (cont.)

a = % of pieces (e.g. % of expository pieces that were UN⁺).
 All percentages are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.
 b = % of entries for that category (e.g. % of LINKS that are $\emptyset$ on journals).

Table 37

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TYPES, GRADE 2, COLLECTION 1

		<u>Expository</u>	<u>Letter</u>
pieces		16	8
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	25	34
ACT	ref2p ^a	.06	.63
	h		1.00
	dirSA		.63
BEG	pos	.56	.88
	frm		1.00
	lpt	.50	
END	spt	.63	.63
	nc	.19	
	frm		1.00
LINK ^b	$\emptyset$	.44	.71
	and	.37	.24
	so	.12	.02
	then	.02	.02
	but	.04	
	other	.02	
SEG	not VP	.44	.38
	syl	.44	
	not pp		.50
	not cp		.38
ratio of code			
switching			
to words		.002	.02
Wcls ^b	n+	1.00	
	add		.75
QATT	$\bar{X}$	1.2	1.5

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of expository pieces that used ref2p as a means of ACT). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were $\emptyset$).

Table 38

DIFFERENCES AMONG TYPES, GRADE 2 COLLECTION 4

		<u>Expository</u>	<u>Letter</u>	<u>Story</u>	<u>Journal</u>	<u>Book</u>
pieces		16	19	12	16	7
UN				.33		
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	75	45	62	29	98
ctp	BT			.08		.44
	clPRO		.47			
	dirSA		.58			
	h		1.00			
	pol		.63			
	ref2P		.58			
	rhQ			.08		
	ref3P				.08	
	tpc	.44				
	frm		.74	.25		
	lpt	.31		.67	.50	.71
	char			.50		
	ttd					.86
	pos		.47		.38	
	spt	.75	.74	.33	.69	.57
	frm		.58			
	nml		.47			
	end			.25		
	sall			.50		
	ass	.81	.84	.42	.56	.57
	ti	.38		.83		1.00
	BS	.25				
	clas			.33	.19	
EXO	w,w+	.80	.58	.41	.88	
STSENS	pr			.67		.71
STYSYN	mxp	.75				
	lp		1.00		.87	
	3p			.67		1.00
SEG	syl	.48	.32	.58	.50	.71
	conj					.86
	syll		.26			
PUNC	pcle	.12	.32		.13	
	ppe	.19	.11		.13	
	pmsf				.13	
	hyp			.17		
ratio of code						
switching						
to words		.006	.03	.007	.01	.006
wcls ^b	n+	.80	.50		.80	
	add		.43			
	v			.50		
	adj					.50
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.05	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.8

Table 38 (cont.)

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of stories that were UN⁺).
 All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.
 b = percentage of category (e.g. % of wcls that were nt).

Table 39

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TYPES, GRADE 3 COLLECTION 4

		<u>Expository</u>	<u>Story</u>
pieces	$\bar{X}$	15	14
wd		78	61
BEG	lpt ^a	.53	.71
	t11	.27	.78
END	spt	.67	.29
	sall		.43
	end		.21
OP	ass	.67	
	ti	.60	.86
	clas		.36
EXO	w,w+	.73	.29
STYSYN	lp	.40	
	3p		.57
SEG	syntactic basis ^b	.89	.50
	phon/morph basis ^b	.11	.50
PUNC	pmsf	.26	.21
	unt		.14
HWT	ex		.29
QATT	$\bar{X}$	1.9	2.1
ratio of code switching to words		.007	

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of expository pieces using l pt at BEG). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.
 b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of SEG that were syntactically based).

Table 40

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TYPES, GRADE X, COLLECTION 4

		<u>Expository</u>	<u>Story</u>
pieces		4	2
wd	$\bar{X} =$	64	49
BEG	ttl ^a	.50	
	item	1.00	.50
	char		.50
EXO	w,w+	.50	
LINK ^b	Ø	.39	.67
	and	.42	.27
	so	.11	
	then	.03	.07
	but	.03	
ratio of code			
switching			
to words		.008	
RINV S ^b	phgen	.44	.24
	phft	.21	.24
	xL1	.17	.24
	x	.08	.22
QATT	$\bar{X} =$	1.3	.6

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of expository pieces where BEG was ttl). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKS that were Ø).

2

What is immediately apparent from these six tables is that, with the exception of Grade X and the first collection from first grade, spelling did not vary according to type of piece. Type/genre did affect hypotheses made about other aspects of writing however. Differences appearing on these tables can be categorized in the following ways:

- 1) those that may have related to notions about the structure and organization of different genres
- 2) those possibly related to the settings for writing (what else was happening)
- 3) those reflecting the writer's involvement
- 4) differential judgements of quality
- 5) a left-over category we frankly don't understand

Genre Sense

Tables 35 through 40 showed that the children had a "sense" about different genres. They accounted for the audience (ACT) in different ways for letters (headings (h), direct speech acts (dirSA), and referring to the audience in the second person (ref2p), politeness (pol), appropriate closing pronouns (clPRO)), for journals (by referring to the teacher/audience in the third person (ref3p), and not at all for stories, books, and expository pieces. Tied to audience was the difference in code switching for the second graders (Tables 37 and 38). Address terms (add) were frequently switched items in letters, which are more likely to provide such opportunities. Nouns, especially

those learned in school (e.g., field trip), were more often the items switched in journals and expository pieces, which often concerned school topics.

The different genres began (BEG) and ended (END) differently. Letters, stories, and journals began with distinct formulae ((frm)—hoy es for first grade journals, Dear X for letters, a Spanish variant of once upon a time for stories). By third grade, stories began with titles (ttl), as did books as early as second grade. Expository pieces had no formulaic beginnings. Instead, they started with the first part of some event (lpt), a statement of the topic (tpc), or the writer's position on a topic or his/her goal in writing (pos). First parts of events were also common beginnings in journals, stories, and second grade letters and books. Writers' position on a topic was a favored beginning for letters. (Grade X's beginnings were an exception. I have categorized them as relating more to what else was happening at the time of writing than to some sense about genre.)

Endings were genre-tied also. Letters ended with politeness (pol), formulae (frm), signatures((nm 1+2) or just first name (nm 1)). Other genres did not end in these ways. Letters shared with other types, however, the closing summary of or comment on a part rather than on the whole (spt). First graders ended journals by just stopping (no closure (nc)); second graders neglected to

wrap up expository pieces. In the second and third grade, explicit endings (end) began to appear on stories but not other genres, as did summaries of entire pieces (sall).

Organizational principles (OP) varied. Big shifts (BS) appeared in first grade journals and books and second grade expository pieces. The most hierarchical organization we found (clas) was more common in stories. Time (ti) was the organizational basis for many types, but especially for stories or books at any one grade level.

A sense of genre was also found in presenting a problem and a resolution (STSENS, pr) in second grade stories but no other types, in using the third person (STYSYN, 3p) for stories and books and the first person (1P) for letters and journals.

The precipitous decline in use of and between clauses (LINK) in first grade books (Table 36) was due to the fact that only for books did there seem to be a "rule" of one idea per page.

Exophoric references (EXO) sometimes pertained to a sense of different genres. For instance, in the first, third, and X graders' fourth collections, there were few of these in stories; for the second grade, few were in stories and books.

A greater avoidance of explicit links between clauses in Grade X stories may have been due to the children having a clearer notion about stories, plugging their own

details into a known format that did not consist of totally connected text. On the other hand, this may represent a regression to an earlier period of heavy use of no links (Ø). If that is the case, this finding should be put with the next category, settings for writing. Settings, meaning what else is happening, includes all the systems a child had to juggle. Having to cope with story line in addition to all other demands may have pushed these boys to using an earlier means of tying clauses—simply placing them on the same page.

The absence of invented designs in first grade letters, but not journals, may mean that the children understood that letters meant business, that letter writing (vs. journal writing) was not to be playful. The presence of title underlining (unt) and embellished handwriting (HWT, ex) in third grade stories, on the other hand, was probably related to children's greater familiarity with printed stories as illustrated and designed physical objects.

Settings for Writing

In the earlier collection from first grade (Table 35), several of the differences between letters and expository pieces were due to the fact that the letters were coached and were mainly one sentence, even one line, long. Thus, there were fewer opportunities for multiple instances of one word and therefore fewer chances to invent different (dif)) rather than stable (sta) spellings (inv s). The

same reason, minimal length, along with coaching from the teacher probably also was behind the absence of use of and as a link (with one clause, what need for links?), the absence of exophora and invented punctuation patterns.

That first and last name appeared as an ending on journals from the fourth collection (Table 36) is related to the fact that we had asked for at least one piece of writing per child in English. Knowing these pieces would be used for this study and wanting us to be able to clearly identify the writer, Ms. D asked the children to put both their names on the journal entries she requested in English. Most put their names at the bottom of the page.

That journals in the fourth collection were written in English accounts for the "odd" profile of unconventional segments (SEG); i.e., fewer altogether, yet a high proportion of segments that joined words from different kinds of phrases (notcp).

The "punctuation" pattern of a number on each line (pnol) appeared in expository pieces because that was the type written at the writing center on oversized, unlined paper. It was the material, and probably the model of one child, rather than anything about the genre, that prompted the production of numbered lines.

Second grade letters from the first collection (Table 37) were also coached. These letters were longer than the first graders' and thus had possibilities for the use of links between clauses, but adult coaching probably

encouraged children to avoid explicit links (Ø).

Grade X expository pieces began with titles; surprisingly, stories did not. In this classroom, writing assignments were written on the board. It is conceivable that assignments for expository pieces were titled by the teacher more often than story assignments and were copied off the board by these less able writers.

Writer's Involvement

Stories and books were not punctuated as much as other types until the third grade. This finding is being categorized as "involvement" because it seems that if a writer was excited about writing (teachers reported this to be the case with books) or had a sequence of events to unravel (if pre-planned) or assemble (if one event triggered the next "on the spot"), s/he would pay more attention to content and less to graphic form. Until third grade, children seemed to treat punctuation as graphic form, pertaining to lines, pages, or word boundaries. When they began to treat it as text-related (Table 39), they began to use it in story, the type of writing where content seemed to hold the writer's attention.

Second graders' high interest in writing books was revealed in children's choice to write more (wd) (by the fourth collection, urgings from the teacher to write more and still more had stopped). It was also only books (and stories to a slight extent) that contained any risky bootlegged topics (CTP/BI).

Judgments of Quality

Means that show which type was judged "better" by virtue of averaging 10 attributes can be seen on each table pertaining to "type differences". The differential contribution of the 10 attributes to any given mean gives added weight to the claim that type/genre was a significant variable.

First grade letters from collection 2 (Table 35) were judged better because they showed more audience awareness (letter form and function predicts that) and more organization (letters were coached). Journals, being relatively more revealing than thank you letters, were judged as more informative. Fourth collection journals, however, written in English, got low grades on unusual vocabulary and candor. Stories, letters, and books, the types most likely available for schema-tapping, were rated highest overall.

Early Grade 2 letters (Table 37) were also judged better on audience awareness (a genre attribute), attributes possibly related to teacher-coaching (coherence and organization), and on writer involvement and expressive language. In the final Grade 2 collection, letters, stories, and books were judged to show most awareness of either purpose or audience. Journals and expository pieces apparently seemed to be purposeless forms to their writers.

In the third grade, stories elicited more imaginative vocabulary and language devices (onomatopoeia, dialogue, etc.). While dialogue fits more "naturally" into stories,

more mundane assignments for expository pieces probably also contributed to duller language use in that type.

Grade X stories (Table 40) were rated much lower than expository pieces. Possibly, children were coached through the latter type. If that did not happen, I cannot explain this finding.

Other Inexplicables

Segmentation (SEG) differences are the major bewilders. Some of the least mature unconventional syntactic segments (no space within a proposition (xprop), no space within an NP (notNP)) as well as the widest range of such segments were used in journals (see Table 35). Perhaps words or phrases for the letters were put on the board to be copied. In the first graders' fourth collection (Table 36), the least conventional segments of all (clustered together words from different constituents (notcp) and single stranded letters (syll)) appeared most often in the "best" genres (stories and books).

In the second grade, letters were segmented most unconventionally. Fourth collection letters were also written with an inconsistent use of upper and lower case letters (certain letters were capitalized regardless of whether they occurred at the beginning, middle, or ends of words or sentences (PUNC, pcle)). Perhaps, then, "anti"-phonologically-based segments as well as a use of capitals categorized as punctuation were all part of erratic handwriting, and letters were the genre that was "dashed off"

to the greatest extent. But then, was it just coincidence that in the earlier collection from second grade a higher number of "anti"-syntactic segments (notcp) (Table 38) also appeared in letters?

I can put forth no candidates whatsoever to account for the discrepancy in segmentation in the third grade (Table 39—heavily syntactically-based in expository pieces; a balance between syntactic and syllabic segments in stories) or for the different bases for Spanish spelling inventions (RINV S) in Grade X (more phonics generalizations in expository pieces; more unidentifiable bases in stories—Table 40). The only comfort in regard to Grade X is that other contrasts between their stories and their expository pieces also favored the latter.

Type, then, while a part of writing, was also an influence on writing. As such, it deserves to be ranked with teachers and classroom practice, instigator of the piece, and language of the text—all more or less local contexts.

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME

Tables 41 through 49 present categories in which there were differences in most frequently used sub-categories over the course of the year. The first table presented for each grade (Tables 41, 44, 47, and 49) compares all pieces written in the earlier collection with all pieces in the last collection. The other tables compare only pieces of one type from early and late in the year. Because one collection for a given grade might be loaded with one

type while another collection was weighted with another, and because of the variety of influences "type" had, as was shown in the preceding section, it seemed important to eliminate the effect of type whenever there were sufficient first and last collection pieces of the same genre for comparison.

Even controlling for type, there were still influences of different assignments for the first and last collections, differences over time in the teacher's directions, in the researchers' requests, different materials available at one time vs. another, etc. that must be acknowledged. Therefore, the findings in this group of tables will be divided between those that seem attributable to these influences and those that seem to reflect "development". The latter category, "development", includes effects of both direct teaching and also the teaching provided by print environments interacting with a maturing child.

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME INFLUENCED BY TEACHERS AND RESEARCHERS

In the total first grade collection (Table 41), type (TP), instigator of piece (UN+), beginnings and endings (BEG, END) can be accounted for non-"developmentally".

Table 41

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME, GRADE 1, COLLECTIONS 2 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		56	46
TP	J ^a	.89	.20
	L	.09	.15
	B		.13
	E		.45
	st		.04
UN			.48
WD	X =	16	39
BEG	frm	.94	.39
	lpt	.45	.63
	item		.22
END	spt	.41	.72
	nm 1+2		.33
	dt		.17
LINK ^b	Ø	.63	.36
	and	.37	.57
	but		.01
	so		.04
	then		.01
	other		.01
# of different			
LINKS		4	11
SEG	xprop	.46	
	not pp	.43	
	not NP	.38	
	not VP	.30	.41
	syl		.61
	conj		.44
PUNC	pcle	.16	.13
	ppl	.14	
	invde	.11	
	ppw	.07	
	hyp	.07	.13
	pcw		.13
TILD	Ø	.09	
RINV S ^b	phft	.38	.24
	phgen	.19	.45
	X	.19	.10
QATT	X =	.4	.7

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 2 that were journals). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of entries for that category (e.g. % of LINKS that were Ø).

That is, greater variety in types was due to Ms. D's changing perception of her students' ability. More English in collection 4 (though not noted in the table) was related to our request. More unassigned pieces, and therefore fewer pieces written for an audience of teacher-as-direction-giver, were results of the establishment of a writing center. With more expository pieces assigned in collection 4, there were relatively fewer texts that began with the journal formula hoy es. Similarly, journals in the second collection had names and dates on the top line. With other genres in the fourth collection, more pieces had names at the end.

Table 42, comparing only journals, and therefore eliminating the influence of other types, still shows the effect of the teacher's and researchers' activities.

Table 42

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME ON JOURNALS, GRADE 1,
COLLECTION 2 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces	$\bar{x}$ =	50	9
wd		17	27
LG ^a	Sp	1.00	.11
	E		.89
LINKS ^b	Ø	.61	.42
	and	.39	.50
SEG	xprop	.52	
	not pp	.46	
	not NP	.38	
	not VP	.34	
	syl	.18	.33
	not cp	.08	.33
PUNC	pcle	.18	.22
	ppl	.16	
	invde	.12	
	ppw	.08	
	pcw		.22
	hyp		.22
ratio of CS to word		.03	.01
wcls ^b	n+	.60	
	add	.30	
	art		.50
	conj		.25
	v		.25

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of grade 1 journals in collection 2 that were written in Spanish).

All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of entries for that category (e.g., % of LINKS that were Ø).

As with the comparison of all pieces, journals over time differed in language of text. Therefore, quantity and quality of code switching differed (switching nouns and address terms in Spanish texts but articles and conjunctions in English texts) because of our directions rather than as a result of "development". Differences in punctuation, too, were probably related to the fact that fourth collection journals were in English. With the added burden of English, punctuation was avoided. Two of the three patterns used most often were probably not punctuation patterns at all, but rather, handwriting categories (capitals for certain letters (pcle), capitals for certain words (pcw)). Punctuation in Spanish in the second collection consisted of (pcle) along with periods on each line (ppl), invented designs (invde), and periods after certain words (ppw). That is, capitals and periods for punctuation, but not capitals for handwriting purposes, were abandoned in the English journals, though they reappeared in second and third grade pieces.

Differences between first grade letters from the second collection, short one-clause-ers coached by the teacher, and letters from the fourth collection, similar to reports and addressed to some anonymous being (dear friend), reflected these two conditions: adult coaching or a peculiar audience (see Table 43).

Table 43

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME ON LETTERS, GRADE 1,
COLLECTION 2 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		5	7
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	17	65
BEG ^a	frm	1.00	.71
	pos	1.00	
	lpt		.57
	item		.43
END	pol	.80	
	spt		1.00
	nm 1+2		.57
	frm		.42
OP	ass	.40	1.00
	ti		.43
AUD	inad	.80	
	Tdg		1.00
LINK ^b	Ø	1.00	.16
	and		.77
	so		.04
	other		.01
SEG	conj	.20	.71
	not frm	.20	
	not NP	.20	
	not pp	.20	
	not VP		.71
	syl		.57
EXO	w,w+		.71
PUNC	pcp		.29
RINV S ^b	phft	.33	.18
	phgen	.21	.53
	x	.30	.11
ratio of code			
switching			
to words			.02
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	.9	1.2

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of pieces in CLT 2 that began with frm). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of entries in that category (e.g. % of LINKS that were Ø).

Beginnings and endings were more "correct" and form-related in the second collection of letters and more event-related in the fourth. It was most likely the topic and function (reporting about a school event involving popcorn, cheerios, etc.) rather than some more overarching change that prompted more code switching in fourth collection letters from first grade.

There are only two changes over time in the total collections from second grade that I can attribute to some adult activity. One was an increase in exploratory handwriting (HWT, ex) (see Table 44).

Table 44

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME, GRADE 2, COLLECTIONS 1 vs. 4

		<u>Collection</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		24	71
wd	$\bar{X}_a =$	28	57
ACT	$\bar{h}_a$	.38	.27
	clPRO	.33	.13
	ref2P		.17
	pol		.17
	dirSA		.16
LINK ^b	$\emptyset$	.57	.21
	and	.31	.69
	so	.08	.03
	then	.02	.02
	but	.02	.02
	other	.01	.03
# of			
different			
links		10	14
SEG	not VP	.42	
	syl	.33	.48
	syLL		.21
	conj		.20
PUNC	pcle	.33	.17
	ppe	.21	.10
	pmsf		.07
HWT	ex		.07
QATT	$\bar{X} =$	1.35	1.4

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of pieces in collection 1 that used h as ACT). All are 'a' unless marked as b'b.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINK that used $\emptyset$).

Table 45
DIFFERENCES OVER TIME ON EXPOSITORY PIECES
GRADE 2, COLLECTIONS 1 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 1</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		16	16
wd	$\bar{X} =$	25	75
RINV S ^b	phgen	.28	.33
	phft	.16	.18
	xLl	.16	
LINK ^b	Ø	.44	.33
	and	.37	.59
	so	.12	.01
	but	.04	.01
	then	.02	.03
	other	.02	.03
STYSYN ^a	conpr	.63	
	lp	.56	
	incon		1.00
	mxp		.75
SEG	not VP	.44	
	syl	.44	.44
	conj		.25
	syll		.19
PUNC	pcle	.31	.12
	pcw		.12
	ppe		.19
OP	ass	.69	.81
	ti		.38
QATT	$\bar{X} =$	1.2	1.05

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of pieces in collection 1 using conpr). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of RinV S that were phgen).

None of the other changes in letters (Table 46) or expository pieces seem to be better explained by appealing to adult activity.

Since the teacher assigned more books and stories in the fourth than the first collection and since these were the types treated to such graphic explorations, it might easily be the case that designs and cholo writing would have also appeared in the first collection if only "hospitable" genres had been assigned. A decrease in the percentage of pieces accounting for the audience with headings or closing pronouns was a function of the differing proportions of letters in the total collections. One change in second graders' expository pieces (Table 45), using more chronologically based organization (OP. ti), was probably a function of a greater number of assignments asking children to recount movie content or school activities.

Table 46

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME ON LETTERS, GRADE 2,
COLLECTION 1 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 1</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		8	19
wd	$\bar{X} =$	34	45
ACT	h ^a	1.00	1.00
	dirSA	.63	.58
	ref2P	.63	.58
	clPRO		.47
	pol		.63
LINK ^b	Ø	.71	.23
	and	.24	.65
	so	.02	.05
	then	.02	
	but		.03
	other		.05
STYSYN	conpr	1.00	
	incon		.95
SEG	not pp	.50	
	not VP	.38	
	not cp	.38	
	syl		.32
	syll		.26
	syntactic based ^b	.73	.32
	phon/morph based ^b	.07	.36
	anti syntactic based ^b	.20	.05
	anti phon/morph ^b		.23
RINV E ^b	sorth	.40	.39
	xL2	.20	.17
	phgen		.21
RINV S ^b	phgen	.20	.38
	phft	.18	.18
	xL1	.18	

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of collection, letters using h). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINK that were Ø).

Several changes in the third grade (Table 47) do seem to be more related to the teacher's assignments rather than a developmental advance in literacy.

Table 47

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME, GRADE 3, COLLECTION 1 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 1</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces	-	19	30
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	48	70
BEG	lpt ^a	.32	.60
	item	.26	
	pos	.26	
	to	.21	
	t11		.50
	stg		.33
	char		.23
END	spt	.53	.50
	sall		.27
	end		.17
OP	ass	.47	.50
	ti	.42	.73
	clas		.23
LINK	# of different links	16	23
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.4	1.85
SEG	syl	.32	.10
	conj	.16	.20
	syntactic based ^b	.40	.79
	phon/morph ^b	.40	.21
	anti syntactic ^b	.13	
HWT	cursive	.11	.87

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of collection 1 with lpt as BEG). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of SEG that were syntactic based).

That is, the fourth collection contained a balance of both stories and expository pieces, while the first had only one story and 18 expository pieces. Thus, favored beginnings and endings were different because of the different genres. Stories used more classificatory organization (OP, clas), a more mature basis than associative, for instance. The content of stories also received higher quality ratings than did other genres. Thus, it was teacher assignment in this case, rather than development alone, that was the reason for an increase in this regard. When looking only at expository pieces (Table 48), however, the differences do not seem so directly tied to adult activities.

Table 48

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME ON EXPOSITORY PIECES
GRADE 3 COLLECTION 1 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 1</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
	pieces	18	15
wd	$\bar{X} =$	48	78
BEG	lpt ^a	.28	.53
	t1		.27
	item	.28	
	to	.22	
OP	ass	.50	.67
	t1	.39	.60
STYSYN	mxp	.55	.40
SEG	syl	.33	
	conj	.16	.20
	not pp		.20
HWT	licur	.11	
	mucur		.73
	allcur		.20
RINV E ^b	phgen	.46	
	phft	.20	.49
	xL2		.19
QATT	$\bar{X} =$	1.4	1.9

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of collection 1 pieces with BEG of lpt). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of RINV E that were phgen).

And when examining any of the differences for Grade X (Table 49), the same comment can be made: all seem to be due to "development".

Table 49

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME, GRADE X, COLLECTION 1 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 1</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces	$\bar{X}$ =	3	6
wd		43	60
BEG ^a	item	.33	.83
	tcl		.33
STYSYN	incon	1.00	.50
	compt		.33
LINK ^b	$\emptyset$	.86	.47
	and	.14	.38
	so		.09
	then		.04
	but		.01
# of			
different			
LINK		2	11
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	.1	.95
PUNC	pcp		.33
HWT	cursive		.17
ratio of code			
switching			
to words			.006

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of collection 1 with BEG of item). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINK that were $\emptyset$).

DIFFERENCES OVER TIME ATTRIBUTABLE TO "DEVELOPMENT"

"Development" keeps appearing in quotation marks because I am not certain the term is adequate or correct for the phenomena we encountered. Some of the tallied changes seem to me to be "marks of development"; i.e., a change in abilities due to direct teaching (of cursive script, for example). Some seem to be "developmental"; i.e., a change in the hypotheses being made as a result of increased interaction with print coupled, perhaps, with changes in

other cognitive or linguistic areas (segmentation might be an example). But then other tallied changes seem to be neither "marks of development" nor "developmental" in these senses. Nor can I tie them to teachers' or researchers' activities. In some cases, they even seem to be "marks of regression" (second grade tense usage and quality of content are examples). Still, changes in this category at least have the passage of time in common. Moreover, most seem to be manifest improvements and likely reflections of underlying reorganizations regarding literacy. Nevertheless, having pooled data from several children per grade and having been absent during the production of the pieces, I will keep the quotations around development.

Increased length was a characteristic change over time for each grade, whether total collections or only pieces of one type were considered. In each grade, children wrote more as the year progressed and their main clauses became longer, as Table 50 shows. Table 51 summarizes which features of children's writing, in which grades, were susceptible to "developmental" changes in one year's time.

Table 50

	CLAUSE LENGTH OVER TIME							
<u>Grade</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>X</u>	
<u>Collection</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>X words per clause</u>	4.91	5.30	5.32	5.82	6.53	6.69	5.44	5.93

Table 51

SUMMARY OF "DEVELOPMENTAL" CHANGES FOR EACH GRADE

Type of Collection	Categories that Changed	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade X
Total	Length of piece	x	x	x	x
	Type of link	x	x		x
	Different links	x	x	x	x
	Segmentation	x	x	x	
	Punctuation	x	x		x
	Unsupplied tildas	x			
	Bases of Spanish Spelling Inventions	x			
	Quality of Content	x			x
	Handwriting			x	x
	Stylistic Syntax-Tense				x
Letters only	Length of piece	x	x	not applicable	not applicable
	Type of Link	x	x		
	Segmentation	x	x		
	Punctuation	x			
	Exophoric Reference	x			
	Bases of Spanish Spelling Inventions	x	x		
	Quality of Content	x			
	Accounting for Audience		x		
	Stylistic Syntax-Tense		x		
	Bases of English Spelling Inventions		x		
Expository only	Length of piece	not applicable	x	x	not applicable
	Type of Link		x		
	Segmentation		x	x	
	Punctuation		x		
	Quality of Content		x	x	
	Bases of Spanish Spelling Inventions		x		
	Bases of English Spelling Inventions			x	
	Stylistic Syntax-Tense		x		
	Beginnings			x	
	Handwriting			x	

Table 51 (cont.)

Journals only	Length of piece	x	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable
	Type of Link	x			
	Segmentation	x			

Considering total collections, length and the number of different lexical links used (a probable sign of vocabulary development) were the only features that changed for each of the four groups of children. For most but not all grades, segmentation, type of link, and punctuation also revealed "developmental" differences. When it could not be attributed to differential assignments and therefore a greater incidence of the "better" genres, quality of content also increased at each grade level.

As was shown on Table 41, first graders decreased their clustering together of two major constituents, clauses (xprop) and noun phrases (notNP), and increased their use of syllabic segments (syl) and one "small" syntactic one (conj). First graders shifted from an absence of lexical links between clauses to clause-tying with and along with a sprinkling of other links. (Refer back to Tables 24 and 25 for details on this feature.) Invented punctuation patterns using designs or periods and focusing on lines or words decreased (invde, ppl, ppw).

In regard to these same features, Table 44 presented second graders as decreasing in use of a major syntactic basis for segmentation (notVP) in favor of an increase in more minor syntactic units (conj) as well as syllabic segments. There was also an increase in second graders' use of one of the "anti" bases—leaving single letters stranded (syll). This last seems to constitute a regression in segmentation. As has been mentioned already, it may be the case, however, that this sub-category, syll, is actually a reflection of erratic handwriting rather than peculiar segmenting. Second graders also went from fewer linked-together clauses to pieces where most clauses were linked by and. In punctuation, they moved from using only periods to mark the end (ppe) to the beginnings of enclosing an entire text with a set—a capital to start and a period to finish (pmsf).

Table 47 shows that third graders' unconventional segments shifted from a syllabic basis back to a syntactic one, but by the end of third grade, segments clustered together on a syntactic basis only included minor units (conjunction and adjoining word (enthen) or prepositions plus indirect objects (ami/a mi)). One can appreciate, by virtue of omission, that third graders did not change in their use of links or punctuation.

From Table 49, one sees that Grade X children did shift in their use of links between clauses. In fact, on this feature, they resembled first graders. These children

began to punctuate in the fourth collection by putting a capital at the start of a page (pcp).

There were other features that changed more grade specifically. Failure to supply required tildas (TILD Ø) decreased in first grade. First graders also shifted their bases for inventing Spanish spellings from one less-dependant-on-instruction (the use of phonetic features (RINV S, phft) to one more tied to instruction (the use of phonics generalizations (phgen)). Third graders began to write mostly in cursive, and Grade X children switched from inconsistent tense usage to use of consistent past tenses (STYSYN, conpt on Table 49).

Table 51 also shows which grades enjoyed "developmental" changes in which features in relation to single types of pieces. There were sufficient first grade journals to compare over time, but this type was not available for comparison from other grades. Table 42 (as compared with Table 41) presents evidence that the nature of the changes in journals (in length, type of link, segmentation) matched the changes described in relation to the total collections. This was not the case with letters, however.

Several changes in features of first grade letters were secondary effects of a change in length. An increase in exophoric reference and in capitals to start each page of a multi-page letter were related to longer letters in the fourth collection. As with journals though, changes

in spelling bases and quality of content seemed to be the same for the first grade letters and the total first grade collection.

Table 46 shows that changes in length, links, and unconventional segments were similar for second grade letters and for the total second grade collection. Fourth collection second grade letters, however, contained more of the conventional means for accounting for an audience (closing pronouns (clPRO), politeness (pol)). Since it was first collection letters that were subject to more coaching, this increased conventionality was probably a sign that children were learning these forms. They also showed a move from consistency to inconsistency in tense usage, perhaps because first collection letters were written simply and in the simple present, while fourth collection letters were functionally, semantically, and syntactically more complex. While neither English nor Spanish spelling changed in the total collection, both did when sorting out letters. Spanish spelling inventions in letters were increasingly based on Spanish phonic generalizations. Interestingly, with as yet no formal instruction in English phonics, by the end of the year, second graders were basing some inventions of English words on English phonics generalizations (RINV E, phgen).

Second grade longitudinal differences for expository pieces only were found on Table 45. The nature (but not

necessarily the extent) of changes in length of piece, bases for Spanish (but not English) spelling inventions, and type of links were similar for expository pieces and letters. However, while segmentation changes in expository pieces as in letters, were characterized by an increasing use of stranded letters (syll), they differed from letters in the use of other types of unconventional segments—both more typical of third grade writing: a steady use of syllabic segments and an increased use of conjunction + adjacent word clusters. Tense use became less consistent, as it did in letters, but so did person perspective in expository pieces (STYSYN, lp vs. mxp). Unlike other subcollections, expository pieces from later in the year were rated inferior to those written earlier.

It might be appropriate here to mention my suspicions regarding the second graders. On many categories, pieces of writing from the first collection in the second grade seemed "worse" than writing from the fourth collection in the first grade. Moreover, although second grade writing did change over the year, the changes did not usually seem great. Table 52 shows the tallied evidence that puts the second grade in a bad light.

Table 52

SUB-CATEGORIES SHOWING SECOND GRADE STARTING OFF

"BEHIND" OR MAKING LITTLE "PROGRESS"

<u>Grade</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>	
<u>Collection</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
inv s ^b	sta	.68	.86	.65	.83	1.00	.87
RINV S ^b	phgen	.19	.45	.30	.39	.59	.51
	x	.19	.10	.18	.14	.07	.07
RINV E ^b	sorth	.63	.54	.30	.49	.10	.04
	x	.01	—	.12	.05	.01	.04
LINK ^b	and	.37	.57	.31	.69	.40	.55
	Ø	.63	.36	.57	.21	.30	.30
# if different links		4	11	10	14	16	23
SEG ^a	NPVP	.07	.02	.13	—	—	—
	notVP	.30	.41	.42	.14	.05	—
	notPP	.43	.15	.29	.14	.10	.10
	syll	.07	.13	.04	.20	—	—
PUNC	pcle	.16	.13	.33	.17	—	.03
QATT	X =	.4	.7	1.35	1.4	1.4	1.85

a = percentage of pieces (e.g., % of Grade 1 pieces from collection 2 that used NPVP segments). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g., % of inv s that were sta).

(It should be remembered, however, that there were many categories whose entries did not call attention to the second grade, and which showed these children as enjoying steady or even sudden leaps of growth in: 1) comparisons of fourth collection from first grade and first collection from second grade; and 2) comparisons of first and fourth collections from second grade. These were categories such as: length of piece, increasingly stable treatment of multiple instances of an English word, increasing use of phonic generalizations as the basis for English spelling, decreasing use of phonetic features as a basis for Spanish spelling, decreasing use of unconventional segments with no space within a sentence or within a noun phrase, decreasing use of segments joining words from adjacent but different constituents, decreasing use of invented punctuation patterns with a period at the end of each line, an increase in putting a period at the end of a piece (a text-based pattern) and a capital to start and a period to end a piece, and an increase in instances of a hierarchical organization of content.

Still my suspicion is that somehow, the second grade was different. They seemed to backslide in decreasing the number of stable Spanish spelling inventions, the use of phonics generalizations for Spanish spelling inventions while increasing the number of Spanish inventions based on nothing we could understand. In English spelling, they increased their reliance on Spanish orthography over the

year and backslid in regard to English inventions for which we saw no basis. They began the year with a beginning first grade pattern of links and showed little increase in the number of links used. A backward step seemed to be the second grade starting point for segmenting with breaks between NP's and VP's, with joined VP's and prepositional phrases. They used more capitals for certain letters, regardless of where they occurred, than the first graders did. Increasing numbers of stranded letters seemed to signal deterioration. Raters saw the content as almost stagnant in quality.

Now such a picture may simply be a normal one (i.e., normative) for second graders' writing. We have too little information to know whether this is so. It may also have been affected by two other conditions: the children's first grade writing experiences and their second grade writing experiences. If first grade literacy instruction for these children had been in a classroom devoted to phonics and void of opportunities to produce authentic texts, early second grade writing might well reflect that. Conversely, the study first graders' ample opportunity for "real writing" would have given them a chance for greater writing development during their first grade year. In either case, the net effect would be relatively more advanced features of writing for first graders late in the year than for second graders early in the year.

Several aspects of these second graders' experiences in second grade may also have contributed to minimal development in some areas over that year. As described in chapter 3 on contexts, the teacher unknowingly let an accumulation of easily "fudged" book report forms substitute for wide reading. She devised no means of revealing to children different stages in text-creation (i.e., without publishing, for instance, there was no need for children to find out about content revision or purposeful editing). Her valuing of extreme length may easily have led to "dashing off" in producing a graphic display and to "rambling" in producing a set of meanings.

I must emphasize the possibility, however, that second grade may be a year of plateaus in regard to some features of writing, that even if my suspicions are correct, it is highly unlikely that teachers would bear the total responsibility for the picture shown on Table 52. This is especially so in this case where there is no explanation for why these and not some other features were the ones to reflect early "regression" or late "stagnation" and where the second grade teacher showed clear respect for her students' abilities, made sincere efforts to integrate writing into her curriculum and to make functional assignments to definite audiences.

Returning to Table 51 and a look at genre-specific "developmental" changes for third graders, we see that,

except for English spelling, expository pieces had changes in features similar to those of the total third grade collections. Comparing Tables 47 and 48, there was a further similarity in the nature of these changes.

regardless of which collection is considered. That is, length increased, syllabic segmentation decreased while minor syntactic unit segments increased (conj and notPP), ratings of quality of content increased, beginnings began to include titles (ttl), and handwriting shifted to cursive for both total collections and expository pieces. The one non-shared feature was the addition, in the fourth collection of expository pieces, of a greater number of English spelling inventions which were related to incomplete second language acquisition. Third graders were writing more in English by the end of the year (this was a function of curriculum goals and language acquisition, not of our request to have an English piece from each child, as it was for the first and second graders). Perhaps, then, they had more chances to display a second language proficiency characterized in part by missing or overgeneralized verb affixes.

CROSS SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Table 53 and 54 display in one place the findings already presented under Aspects: Tables 16 (code switching), 17 (spelling), 18 (segmentation), 20 (punctuation), 21 (quality of content), and 24 (links), ; as well as those presented narratively earlier in this chapter (beginnings

and endings, organizational principle, etc.).

Table 53

CROSS-SECTIONAL, COLLECTION 1, (COLLECTION 2 FOR GRADE 1),
DIFFERENCES AMONG GRADES

		<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>	<u>Grade X</u>
pieces		56	24	19	3
LG	E ^a			.26	
wd	X =	16	28	48	43
ACT	h	.09	.38		
	pol	.07			
	clPRO		.33		
BEG	frm	.94	.33		
	lpt	.45	.33	.32	
	pos		.67	.26	
	item			.26	.33
	to			.21	
	item			.26	
END	spt	.41	.63	.53	.33
	nc	.16			
	frm		.33		
LINK ^b	Ø	.63	.57	.30	.86
	and	.37	.31	.40	.14
	so		.08	.12	
	then		.02	.13	
	but		.02	.02	
	other		.01	.02	
# of different					
links		4	10	16	2
SEG	xprop	.46			.33
	not pp	.43			.33
	not VP	.30	.42		
	not NP	.38			
	syl		.33	.32	.33
	syll				.33
	syw				.33
	not cp				.33
PUNC	pcla	.16	.33		
	invde	.11			
	ppl	.14			
	ppw	.07			
	hyp	.07			
	ppe		.21		
	pmsf			.21	
ratio of code					
switching					
to words		.03	.009	.008	
HWT	cursive			.11	

Table 53 (cont.)

	<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>	<u>Grade 4</u>
ratio of VINV E to CINV E	.80	.86	1.62	
ratio of VINV S to CINV S	.54	.91	.29	.19
RINV E ^b sorth	.63	.30		
xl2	.29	.26		
phft		.16	.20	
phgen			.46	
RINV S ^b phft	.39	.18	.11	.17
phgen	.19	.26	.59	.54
x	.19	.16		.13
xl1		.17		
QATT $\bar{X}$ =	.40	1.35	1.4	.1

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of 3rd grade pieces using E). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKs that were 0).

Table 34

CROSS-SECTIONAL, COLLECTION 4, DIFFERENCES AMONG GRADES

		<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>	<u>Grade 4</u>
pieces		46	71	33	6
UN+ ^a		.48	.05		
wd	X =	39	57	70	60
ACT	ref 3p	.11			
	pol	.13	.17		
	h		.27		
	ref2p		.17		.17
	dirSA		.16		.17
BEG	lp	.63	.42	.60	
	frm	.39	.28		
	item	.22			.83
	pos		.24		
	t11			.50	.33
	stg			.33	
	char			.23	
END	spt	.72	.63	.50	
	nm 1+2	.33			
	dt	.17			
	frm		.16		
	sall			.27	
	end			.17	
	nc				.83
OP	ass	.56	.67	.50	1.00
	t1	.33	.38	.73	.33
	rdm				.50
LINK ^b	and	.57	.21	.45	.38
	Ø	.36	.69	.30	.47
	but	.01	.02	.01	.01
	so	.01	.03	.05	.09
	then	.01	.02	.12	.04
	other	.01	.03	.02	
# of different					
links		11	14	23	11
SEG	syl	.61	.48		.67
	conj	.44	.20	.20	
	not VP	.41			.33
	syll		.21		
	not pp				.33
PUNC	pcle	.13	.17		
	pcw	.13			
	hyp	.13			

Table 54 (cont.)

		<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>	<u>Grade 4</u>
	ppe		.10		
	pmsf		.07	.27	
	pcp				.33
	unt			.10	
QATT	X =	.7	1.4	1.95	.95
HWT	cursive			.87	.17
RINV E ^b	sorth	.54	.49		
	xL2	.21	.19	.21	
	phgen		.14	.44	
	phft		.11	.25	
RINV S ^b	phgen	.45	.39	.51	.33
	phft	.24	.17	.17	.23
	x	.10	.15		.16
	xL1		.11	.12	.21
ratio of code switching to words		.01	.01	.004	.006

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of grade 1 pieces that were UN+). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKs that were 0).

Tables 53 and 54, however, only show the sub-categories which differed among the grades for only one collection at a time. Rather than repeating the findings already listed under Aspects, I will present here just one interesting comparison—Grade 1 compared with Grade X.

The two Grade X children, relatively unschooled, recent immigrants from rural Mexico, and the first graders were alike at first on the following:

all writing was in Spanish

there was no unassigned writing

almost no mention of culturally specific topics

entire audience was the teacher

endings consisted mostly of comments on earlier parts
small variety of links between clauses
most clauses were not lexically linked; the only lexical link fell in the and category(y, rambien, etc.)
major organizational principle was associative or
time-based
unconventional segments were often whole sentences
frequent absence of required tildas and accents
mixed tense usage
use of only manuscript writing
raters judged the quality of content very low.

Some of these characteristics (assigned writing, audience, no mention of certain topics) could easily have been a function of similar classroom assignments. It is possible to attribute others, however, to limited experience with writing—characteristics such as text construction (quality, endings, organizational principle, links between clauses, tense consistency); large syntactically-based unconventional segments; and script.

To complicate matters, Grade X and first grade writing was also different. Grade X:

wrote longer pieces
used no formulaic or first-part beginnings
used no punctuation at all
based most Spanish spelling inventions on phonic
generalizations rather than phonetic features
did no code switching at all

used a mixed rather than a first person perspective segmented syllabically in addition to syntactically. Some of these differences may have been attributable to prior schooling (e.g., using phonics generalizations in spelling), to Grade X's monolinguality early in the year (e.g., no code switching), or to the respective teacher's assignments (e.g., no first grade journal-style beginnings, no consistent journal-style person perspective). However, others may have been related to age and more fully developed language rather than schooling.

Tables 55 through 59 display cross-sectional differences in single types of pieces for the fourth collection only. Table 55 shows that for the two grades that wrote letters, older children's letters had more "letter-ness" (more formulaic headings and endings).

Table 55

CROSS-SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES ON LETTERS, GRADES 1 vs. 2,
COLLECTION 4

		<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>
pieces	$\bar{X}$ =	7	19
wd ^a		65	45
AUD ^a	out		.63
	Idg	1.00	
ACT	h	.43	1.00
	clPRO	.28	.47
	pol	.28	.63
	dirSA		.58
	ref2p		.58
BEG	frm	.71	.79
	lp	.57	
	item	.43	
	los		.47
OP	ass	1.00	.84
	ti	.43	
STYSYN	lp	1.00	1.00
	rep	.43	
SEG	conj	.71	
	not VP	.71	
	syl	.57	.32
	syll		.26
PUNC	pcp	.29	
	pcle		.32
	ppe		.11
RINV E ^b	sorth	.53	.39
	xL2	.40	.17
	phgen		.21
wcls ^b	n+	.90	.50
	add		.43
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.2	1.5

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % grade 1 pieces where AUD was out). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of RINV S that were sorth).

Second grade vs. first grade letters were like other second vs. first grade comparisons in regard to segmentations, punctuation, bases for English spelling inventions and quality of content. That the older children also had more code switched address terms was a function of different addressees (out-of-school adults for second graders vs. anonymous child addressees for first graders).

Table 56 shows the by-now-expected contrasts attributable either to different classroom activities (e.g., amount of spontaneous writing, references to adults and thus use of code-switched address terms) or developing notions of text (e.g., links), segmentation, punctuation, and English spelling.

Table 56

CROSS-SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES IN EXPOSITORY PIECES.
GRADES 1 vs. 2 vs. 3 vs. X

		<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>	<u>Grade X</u>
pieces		21	16	15	4
LG ^a	E		.13	.20	
UN+		.67			
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	41	75	78	64
BEG	lpt	.76	.31	.53	
	pos	.28			
	stg	.28			
	tpc		.44		
	ttl			.27	.50
	item				.50
END	spt	.57	.75	.67	
	nc				.75
OP	ass	.52	.81	.67	1.00
	ti	.38	.38	.60	
	rdm				.25
	bs		.25		
LINK ^b	and	.60	.59	.48	.42
	#	.35	.33	.30	.39
	so	.03	.01	.05	.11
	then	.01	.03	.11	.03
	but	.01	.01	.01	.03
	other	.01	.03	.05	
HWT	cursive			.93	
SEG	syl	.67	.48	.07	.50
	conj	.62		.20	.50
	not VP	.43			
	sylw	.24			
	not frm		.19	.13	
	syLL		.19		
	not pp			.20	.50
PUNC	pcw	.14	.12		
	pnol	.14			
	pcle		.12		
	ppe		.19		
	pmsf			.26	
RINV E ^b	sorth		.41		
	phgen		.19	.49	
	phft			.19	
	xL2			.21	
STYSYN	conpt	.38		.40	.50
	incon	.43	1.00		
	rep	.29			

Table 56 (cont.)

		<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>	<u>Grade 4</u>
	lp	.47		.40	
	3p	.38			.75
	mxp		.75		
wcls ^b	add	.67			
	n+	.33	.80	.75	1.00
QATT	X =	.9	1.05	1.9	1.3

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of grade 2 expository pieces that were in E). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.
 b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKs that were and).

These contrasts have appeared on many tables, not just those concerning expository pieces, as in Table 56.

Table 57 depicts third grade stories as more story-like (beginning with titles, using a consistent past tense).

Table 57

CROSS-SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES IN STORY, GRADE 2 vs. 3

		<u>Grade 2</u>	<u>Grade 3</u>
pieces		12	14
UN+ ^a		.33	
BEG	lpt	.67	.71
	char	.50	
	frm	.25	
	ttl		.78
LINK ^b	and	.65	.42
	Ø	.23	.29
	but	.03	.03
	so	.05	.03
	other	.05	.09
	then		.14
SEG	syl	.58	.14
	conj		.14
	syll	.17	
PUNC	hyp	.17	
	pmsf		.21
	unt		.14
HWT	cursive		.86
	ex	.08	.29
RINV E ^b	sorth	.39	
	xL2	.26	
	phgen		.43
	phft		.25
RINV S ^b	phgen	.39	.54
	phft	.25	.14
	x	.16	
STYSYN	3p	.67	.57
	incon	.83	
	conpt		.57
Ratio of code switching to words		.007	
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.6	2.1

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of grade 2 stories that were "UN+"). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. of Links that were Ø).

Other features concerning spelling, script, segmentation, punctuation, links, and quality mirror findings on other tables.

Table 58, pertaining only to fourth collection journals, reflects some special conditions under which these first grade journals were written: the first grade convention of starting journals with hoy es and a compliance with the researchers' request to produce at least one piece per child in English.

Table 58

CROSS-SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES IN JOURNAL, GRADES
1 vs. 2

		<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>
pieces		9	16
LG	E ^a	.89	
BEG	frm	1.00	
	lpt		.50
	pos		.38
END	spt	1.00	
	nm 1+2	.67	
OP	ass	.67	.56
	bs	.56	
LINK ^b	sp		.25
	and	.50	.71
	Ø	.42	.06
	but	.08	
	so		.10
	then		.10
	other		.03
SEG	syl	.33	.50
	not cp	.33	
PUNC	pcw	.22	
	hyp	.22	
	pcle	.22	.13
	ppe		.13
	pmsf		.13
wcls ^b	art	.50	
	conj	.25	
	v	.25	
QATT	$\frac{n}{x} +$		.80
	$\bar{x} =$	.6	1.3

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of grade 1 journals that were in E). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKs that were Ø).

This accounts for first and second grade journals' differences in language, in endings and in the classes of words that were code switched. Other differences were similar to those discussed in relation to preceding tables.

Table 59, regarding books, reminds one of some of the tables and discussion of type differences, rather than "developmental" differences.

Table 59

CROSS-SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES IN BOOK, GRADE 1 vs. 2

		<u>Grade 1</u>	<u>Grade 2</u>
pieces		6	7
UN+ ^a		1.00	
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	25	98
CTP	BT		.44
BEG	item	.67	
	ttl	1.00	.86
	lpt		.71
OP	ass	.33	.57
	bs	.50	
	ti		1.00
EXO	w,w+	.67	
LINK ^b	Ø	.86	.18
	and	.07	.78
	so	.07	.02
	then		.02
	other		.01
STYSYN	lp	.33	
	mvp	.50	
	3p		1.00
SEG	syl	.83	.71
	sylw	.50	
	not cp	.50	
	not NP	.50	
	conj		.86
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.2	1.8

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of 1st grade books that were UN+). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKs that were Ø).

That is, at each grade, books were written with different, often more advanced, hypotheses than other genres. The first and second grade differences portrayed on Table 59 also show "development" (greater written fluency or length, fewer large syntactically-based segments, higher ratings on quality, only one phrase/clause per page in first grade books and thus no links between clauses, first grade books having no "story line" but rather, only topically connected pictures and thus no time organization and no consistent past tense use). In comparison with Tables 55 through 58, Table 59 also shows that "book" was a type of writing that elicited some of the most sophisticated hypotheses.

CHANGES OVER TIME FOR INDIVIDUAL CHILDREN

After the four collections had been coded, members of the coding teams for each aspect submitted their recommendations for "interesting" children to look at individually. Two children per grade and one Grade X child were so designated. As it turned out, the two per grade each represented one "high" and one "medium" writer from the original subject selection.

Two other ways of dividing up the children, besides targeting a few to look at as individuals, were considered. The intent was to take one dividing characteristic and see if that characteristic was "symptomatic" of a whole complex of other differences. That intent was never fulfilled, but the reasons for abandonment are enlightening.

One division we tried was high vs. low code switching. We tried grouping children by the number of words and phrases they switched, regardless of the length of the piece, and also by the number of switches where length of piece was controlled. In either case, children who code switched frequently in writing (as well as those who code switched infrequently) made such a diverse group that it seemed that any finding of other differences (perhaps in content quality, segmentation, number of different links, etc.) between the two groups would be an arithmetical but not a substantive discovery.

The same can be said for our efforts to divide children according to "conventionality". We made a group out of the children whose writing contained five or more types or unconventional segments, with some types (i.e., the "anti"-syntactic and "anti"-phonological types) receiving more weight because of their extreme unconventionality. These constituted the highly unconventional group. Highly conventional children were those with two or fewer types of unconventional segments. We also tried to define conventionality on the basis of spelling, so that children with a ratio over .8 of spelling inventions to total words were considered extremely unconventional; those with fewer than .35 inventions to total words in first grade, .25 in second grade, and .10 in third grade were considered highly conventional.

As with code switching, whether we determined conventionality by segmentation or spelling, we obtained a grouping that included the children who wrote a lot and a little, those who wrote more and less coherently, with more and less originality, with more and less conventional spelling (if we grouped by segmentation) and with more and less conventional segments (if we grouped by spelling). And although we did not try it, I suspect that the same could be said about any effort to group by high or low ratings of quality of content. In other words, although a few children were indeed "better" or "worse" on all features we coded, most others were idiosyncratically variable. Based on this effort, it would seem unwise to try to predict what kinds of hypotheses a child would make about various aspects of written language by looking at only one aspect.

We did, however, look at individual children. So that readers might come to know our "interesting kids" as writers rather than tally producers, an over-time sample of their writing is presented before the tallied findings for each child.

Child #3

(11) Collection 1



Collection 2

Hoy es miercoles
ayer esimos una
tepi con un cayo.
i todos estaban
presente i con
volitas rojas

Hoy es miércoles. Ayer hicimos una teepee con un
caballo y todos estaban presente y con bolitas rojas.

(Today is Wednesday. Yesterday we made a teepee with
a horse and everybody was here and with little red
marbles.)

Collection 3

Habia una vez que
 habia cuatros niños
 solos en una casa
 muy vieja y tenian
 mucho miedo porque
 habia una bruja que
 se riaba como un
 brujo. porque los
 cuatros niños estaban
 muy chicos.

Habia una vez que habia cuatro niños solos en una casa muy vieja y tenian mucho miedo porque habia una bruja que se riaba como un brujo porque los cuatro niños estaban muy chicos.

(Once upon a time that there were four children alone in a very old house and they were very afraid because there was a witch that was laughing like a warlock (male witch) because the four children were very little.)

Collection 4

Monstruo, Señora Monstruo y el poco en bicicleta
 la bicicleta empieza a bajar por la
 bina descendiendo rapido. Los niños
 ven lo rapido que van pero
 Monstruo y la Señorita Monstruo
 no se dan cuenta.
 Monstruo sigue mirando hacia la Señorita
 Monstruo y siguen hablando!!
 y hablando. ¿De qué estarán
 hablando? Monstruo debería estar
 mirando por donde va la bicicleta
 empieza a irse más y
 más rapidamente.

Monstruo y Señorita Monstruo y El Paseo en Bicicleta
La bicicleta empieza a bajar por la loma demasiado
rapido. Los niños ven lo rapido que van pero
Monstruo y la Señorita Monstruo no se dan cuenta.
Monstruo sigue mirando a la Señorita Monstruo y
sigue hablando y hablando. ¿De qué estarán hablando?
Monstruo debería estar mirando por donde va. La
bicicleta empieza a irse más y más rapidamente.

(Monster and Miss Monster and the Bicycle Ride
The bicycle began to go down the hill too fast. The
children see how fast it's going but Mr. and Miss
Monster don't realize it. Monster keeps on looking
at Miss Monster and keeps on talking and talking.
What must they be talking about? Monster should be
watching where he's going. The bike begins to go
faster and faster.)

Tables 60 and 61 include the changes over time for
child # 3's total collections and for her journals.

Table 60

CHILD 3 - DIFFERENCES OVER TIME, COLLECTION 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 3</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		5	8	4
UN+			.13	.25
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	31	24	53
BEG	frm	1.00	1.00	.50
	lpt	1.00	.38	1.00
	stg		.25	1.00
END	spt	.40	.75	.50
	nm 1+2			.50
	nm 1			.50
LINK ^b	and	.80	.48	.60
	$\emptyset$	.20	.10	.27
	other		.24	
	so		.14	.10
	but		.05	.03
# of different				
links		2	5	6
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.4	1.2	1.8
SEG	not NP	.20		.25
	not VP	.20	.13	.25
	not PP		.13	
	conj			.25
	syl			.25
PUNC	ppl	.80		
	pcle			.25
	Q			.25
ACNT			.50	1.00
RINV E ^b	sorth	.67		.18
	phgen	.33		.65
RINV S ^b	phgen	.53	.59	.43
	phft	.13	.15	.14
	x	.09		
	norm	.11	.08	.29
ratio of code				
switching				
to words		.06	.02	.01

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 3 that was UN+).

All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were and).

Table 61

CHILD 3 - DIFFERENCES IN JOURNALS OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 2 vs. 3

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 3</u>
pieces	$\bar{X}$ =	5	4
wd		31	14
BEG ^a	frm	1.00	1.00
	lpt	1.00	.75
	stg		.50
SET	com	.40	
	sch		.75
LINK ^b	and	.80	.67
	Ø	.20	
	other		.33
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.4	.9
PUNC	ppl	.80	
TILD	Ø	.20	
	nap		.25
RINV S	phgen	.53	.70
	phft	.13	.10
	x	.09	

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 2 that used frm for BEG). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were and).

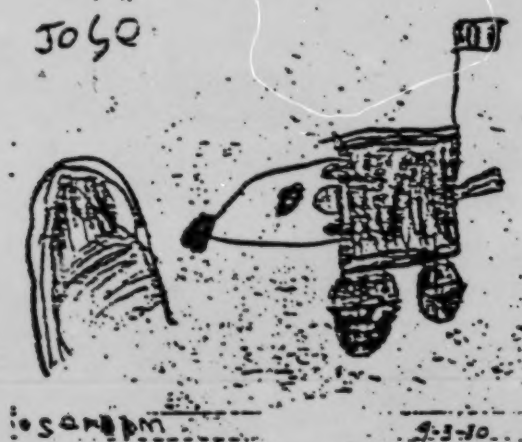
She started out as a more advanced writer (having already passed the stage of no links, if there is such a stage, and having reached a high degree of text-tying with and; using no segments that joined whole sentences; using a clear punctuation pattern; relying on phonic generalizations for both Spanish and English spelling inventions). Over time, her content became more complex (more semantically varied ties between clauses) yet less neatly conveyed (more inconsistent tense usage). She also tried out new forms later in the year—accents,

question marks, tildas. As a whole, child # 3's content and form improved together. The only exception was her increasingly erratic handwriting (shown by what we coded as punctuation—capitals for certain letters).

Child # 6

The other first grade target subject is José.

(12) Collection 1



Collection 2

Hoy es martes.
 ahoch tenmo nemosuno
 anaxejimpsu-lachsa
 tenemo sam nos.

Hoy es martes. Anoche teníamos un conejo. Anoche fuimos a la iglesia. Tenemos un oso.

(Today is Tuesday. Last night we had a rabbit. Last night we went to church. We have a bear.)

Collection 3

Hoy es jueves.
 fuimos a comer
 fuimos a la tienda
 fuimos a las vistas
 fuimos a la K Mart
 fuimos a la Circle
 K. Compraron sodas
 y cacaguates y Kool-
 Aid y plátanos y
 paletas y una piña
 colada, una soda.
 (Today is Thursday.
 We went to eat. We
 went to PE.
 We went to the store.
 We went to the
 movies. We went
 to K Mart. We went
 to Circle K. We
 bought sodas and pea-
 nuts and Kool-Aid
 and bananas and
 popsicles and a
 piña colada, a
 soda.)

Collection 4

El Monstruo
 y El Niño
 hicieron una
 piel de Monstruo
 de galletas
 y El Niño pienso
 de Eso
 de galletas
 buenas.
 y compraron
 harina y galletas
 y leen un libro
 de cosina.

El Monstruo y El Niño

Hicieron una piel de Monstruo de galletas y el niño piensa de eso, de galletas buenos. Y compraron harina y galletas y leen un libro de cocinar.

(The Monster and the Boy

They made a monster skin out of cookies and the boy thinks about that, about good cookies and they bought flour and cookies and they read a cookbook.)

José's progress in writing was not steady as was Christina's. Table 62 and 63 show that José was one of the few who resisted our request to write in English.

Table 62

CHILD 6 - DIFFERENCES OVER TIME, COLLECTION 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 3</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		9	10	7
UN+ ^a			.20	.57
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	14	16	23
AUD	Idg	1.00	.80	.30
	gen		.20	.57
	Tr			.14
BEG	frm	1.00	.80	.29
	item	.67		.29
	stg		.30	
	lpt			.43
	tcl			.29
END	spt	.56	.60	.71
	nc	.33	.30	
	nm 1+2			.29
LINK ^b	$\emptyset$	.56	.73	.38
	and	.44	.13	.54
	so		.07	.04
	other		.07	.04
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.0	.3	.9
SEG	not PP	.67		
	not VP	.67	.30	
	xprop	.56		
	conj		.40	.57
	syl		.40	.71
	nm			.71
PUNC	invde	.67		
	pcle		.20	.29
	hyp			.57
INV S ^b	dif	.63		
	sta	.37	1.00	1.00
RINV S ^b	phft	.43	.39	.29
	x	.29		
	phgen		.39	.52

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 3 that was UN+).

All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKs that were $\emptyset$).

Table 63

CHILD 6 DIFFERENCES IN JOURNALS OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 2 vs. 3

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 3</u>
pieces		9	6
LINK ^b	Ø	.56	.92
	and	.44	
	so		.08
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.0	.25
SEG ^a	not PP	.67	
	not VP	.67	
	xprop	.56	
	conj		.33
	syl		.33
PUNC	invde	.67	
	invend		.17
	pcle		.17
SET	com	.67	
	sch		.50
INV S ^b	dif	.63	
	sta	.37	1.00
RINV S ^b	phft	.43	.37
	x	.29	
	phgen		.38
ratio of VINV S			
to CINV S		.63	.06
ratio of code			
switching			
to words		.03	.09

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 2 that used not pp for SEG). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. of LINKs that were Ø).

His content dipped (shorter, rated lower, no closure for endings, reverted to many clauses with no links) as he jumped forward in form (he shifted from having no spaces within sentences to using a syllabic basis for segmentation; he started to use phonic generalizations as the basis for invented spelling, stabilized his spelling inventions; and stopped using his charming but childish invented punctuation designs). Then, in the fourth collection, both content and form surged ahead as length increased, beginnings sometimes had titles, content received higher ratings, accents were used, phonetic feature spelling decreased, and segmentation became more conventional. José's progress was thus uneven during part of the year but a meld of content/form advancement at the end.

Child # 11

One of the two second graders we followed was Manuel.

(13) Collection 1

Estaba difícil Para garar el
grillo. y la mariposa.
El sapo no era difícil para
garar.

Estaba difícil para agarrar el grillo y la mariposa.
El sapo no era difícil para agarrar.

(It was hard to catch the cricket and the butterfly.
The toad wasn't hard to catch.)

Collection 2

Es un santo dñs y el se mete por la
chiminella al me da presentes y d
tiene bigotes y tiene una gorra y
tiene un cinto negro
grande y tiene un
traje rojo y las botas son negras y
y tiene un trineo con venados.

Es un Santo Claus y él se mete por la chimenea. Él me
da presentes y él tiene bigotes y tiene una gorra
y tiene un cinto negro grande y tiene un traje rojo
y las botas son negras y tiene un trineo con venados.

(It's a Santa Claus and he goes through the chimney.
He gives me presents and he has a mustache and he
has a beard and he has a big black belt and he has a
red suit and his boots are black and he has a sleigh
with deer.)

Collection 3

las Kachinas son muy importantes
porque tiene espíritu en todas las
Kachinas y Todas las Kachinas son
echas de las rayzes de los ardoles
y esas muñecas son vien importante
porque tiene un espíritu que
los Kachinas grellan y todos los día
les alludan y les da buena suerte.

Las kachinas son muy importantes porque tienen espíritus en todas las kachinas y todas las kachinas son echas de las raíces de los árboles. Y esas muñecas son bien importantes porque tienen un espíritu que las kachinas creen y todos los días ayudan y les dan buena suerte.

(Kachinas are very important because they have spirits in all the kachinas and all the kachinas are made of the roots of trees. And these dolls are very important because they have a spirit that the kachinas believe and every day they help out and they give good luck.)

Collection 4

A mí me gusta hacer
libros y Yo los hago y
a mí me gusta leerlos
yo le hice uno a
mi mamá y le gustó
mucho y ella lo
tiene todavía.

A mí me gusta hacer libros y yo los hago y a mí me gusta leerlos. Yo le hice uno a mi mamá y le gustó mucho y ella lo tiene todavía.

(I like to make books and I make them and I like to read them. I made one for my mom and she liked it a lot and she still has it.)

Tables 64 and 65 show a forward-backward pattern.

Table 64

CHILD 11 - DIFFERENCES OVER TIME
COLLECTION 1 vs. 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		Collection 1	Collection 2	Collection 3	Collection 4
pieces	$\bar{X}$ =	3	11	5	8
Wd		31	51	96	46
OP	ass	1.00	.91	.80	.63
	rep		.27		
	clas			.80	
LINKS ^b	Ø	.75	.21	.06	.01
	and	.25	.78	.75	.90
	other		.01	.10	.04
	so			.07	.02
	then			.03	
# of different					
LINKS		2	3	9	5
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	.7	1.1	2.0	1.6
SEG	syl		.36		
	not NP			.20	
	not VP			.20	
	conj				.25
	syll				.25
PUNC	pmsf		.46	1.00	.38
	pcle				.25
INV S ^b	sta	.50	.87	.91	.60
	dif	.25	.13	.09	.40
	rtdif	.25			
RINV E ^b	phgen	.40			
	phft	.40			
	sorth		.57		.92
	lenm		.29		.08
ACNT			.09		.12
HWT	ex		.09		.25

a = percentage of piece (e.g. % of CLT 1 with OP of ass).
 All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKS that were Ø).

Table 65

CHILD 11 - DIFFERENCES IN LETTERS OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 3</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		3	2	3
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	46	113	47
BEG ^a	frm	1.00	.50	1.00
	lpt	1.00		.67
	typ		1.00	
LINK ^b	and	.85	.72	.89
	Ø	.07	.09	.05
	other	.07	.09	.05
	then		.06	
	so		.03	
#. of different				
	LINKS	3	8	2
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.6	2.3	1.5
SEG	syl	.67		
	not VP		.50	
	syll			.33
PUNC	pmsf	.33	1.00	.33
	hyp			.67
	pcle			.67
	ppe			.33
INV S ^b	dif			.67
	sta	1.00	1.00	.33
RINV S ^b	phgen	.45	.24	.38
	norm	.30		
	phft		.32	.19

- a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 2 with a BEG of frm). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.
- b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were and).

Until the fourth collection, there was some advancement in organization, a switch from early no-links to heavy use of a few to more varied links, the beginnings of text-based punctuation. Growth in accent use continued through the fourth collection. However, Manuel regressed from using English phonic generalization in English spelling to relying on Spanish orthography, from having no unconventional segments at all at first to using syllable-based and major syntactic-unit segments and even to an "anti" phonological basis for segmentation. In the fourth collection, his content was rated lower than it had been previously. Tables 64 and 65 confirm what his teacher reported about Manuel---that his beginning-of-the-year improvement was reversed by the end, that he seemed "not to care" about either content or form.

Child # 15

Agustin was the other second grader singled out for individual analysis.

(14) Collection 1

llamot conejos los conejos se muere n.

a algunos se esconden.

tambien se esconden

por arboles

lesiro una petto

isolen coriendo

llolg mato i mesolenmos conejos

Yo mato conejos y los conejos se mueren y algunos se esconden. También se esconden por los árboles. Les tiro una piedra y salen corriendo. Yo los mato y me salen mas conejos.

(I kill rabbits and the rabbits die and some hide. Also they hide by the trees. I throw a rock at them and they come out running. I kill them and more rabbits come out.)

Collection 2

Yo tengo un mono que se
cien es. Yo digo que es un
hombre bueno y le da paletos
o regalo a mi me gusta
un auto esas son mis
favoritas a mi me gusta
tan bien unos go cars

Yo tengo un mono que sé quien es. Yo digo que es un hombre bueno que da paletas o regalos. A mí me gustaría una moto. Esos son mis favoritos. A mí me gustan también unos go cars.

(I have a doll that I know who it is. I say it's a good man who gives popsicles or presents. I would like to have a motorcylce. Those are my favorites. I also like go cars.)

Collection 3

ma les abian dos señores ee estaban ciegos
también abian un mapache y el mapache
les jugaba tricks a los ciegos y un día
le dijo a al otro siego ee el mapache
estaba aca y el mapache los engañaba

y un día el mapache quería agarrar un
pescado pero bido a los dos ciegos los
bido der mides y un siego le dijo eelmin
se y el otro siego que a traile agua
y el mapache lo engañó y le lle-
tó agua y el otro siego le dijo ee
lla tenía hambre y el mapache se
le puso en unga mani y el mapache
iba a comer la carne y los dos
siegos dijieron que mas quedaban
nomás dos carnes y se pelearon

Una vez habian dos señores que estaban ciegos y
también había un mapache y el mapache les jugaba
tricks a los ciegos. Y un ciego le dijo al otro
ciego que el mapache estaba aquí. Y el mapache los
engañaba. Y un día el mapache quería agarrar un
pescado pero vió a los dos ciegos y les vió dormidos.
Y un ciego le dijo que tenía sed y el otro ciego
fue a traerle agua y el mapache lo engañó y le llevó
el agua. Y el otro ciego le dijo que ya tenía hambre
y el mapache iba a comer la carne y los dos ciegos
dijeron que nomás quedaban dos carnes y se pelearon.

(One time there were two men who were blind and also
there was a raccoon and the raccoon would play tricks
on the blind men. And one blind man said to the
other blind man that the raccoon was here. And the
raccoon was tricking them. And one day the raccoon
wanted to catch a fish but he saw the two blind men
and he saw them sleeping. And one blind man said
that he was thirsty and the other blind man went
to bring water and the raccoon tricked him and he
took the water. And the other blind man said to him
that he was hungry and the raccoon was going to eat
the meat and the two blind men said only two pieces
of meat were left and they fought.)

Collection 4

llo cu an do estoi en mi
casa miro cartunes y abres
aga istoria de los cartu
nes i a bes es me a pagan
la tele bisi en y
me en o jo y les pego
a los ce m elo apayen

Yo cuando estoy en mi casa miro cartunes y a veces
hago historias de las cartunes y a veces me apagan la
television y me enojo y les pego a los que me la
apaguen.

(When I'm at home I watch cartoons and sometimes I
make stories out of the cartoons and sometimes they
turn off the television on me and I get angry and I
fight the ones who might turn it off on me.)

Table 66

CHILD 15 - DIFFERENCES OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 1 vs. 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		Collection 1	Collection 2	Collection 3	Collection 4
pieces		3	5	4	8
wd ^a	$\bar{X}$ =	23	41	149	49
BEG ^a	lpt	.33			.50
	frm	.33		.50	
	item	.33			
	reas	.33			
	pos		.40		
	typ		.40	.50	
	stg				.38
LINK ^b	Ø	.67	.38	.24	.30
	and	.27	.38	.33	.57
	so	.04	.08	.20	.06
	other		.15	.17	
	but			.03	
	then			.02	.07
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	2.1	2.2	1.85	1.7
SEG	not cp	.67			
	NPVP	.67			
	xprop	.67			
	syl	.67	1.00	1.00	1.00
	conj		.80	1.00	
	not PP		1.00		
	not VP			1.00	
	syll				1.00
INVS ^b	dif	.67	1.00	.07	.10
	sta	.33		.95	.80
	rtsta			.07	
	rtdif				.10
RINV E ^b	sorth	.67		.57	.31
	lenm	.33			
	phgen		.38		.30
	spst		.25		
	xL2		.25		
	phft			.14	.16
RINV S ^b	phgen	.29	.39	.62	.59
	phft	.27	.28	.16	.14

Table 66 (cont.)

		Collection 1	Collection 2	Collection 3	Collection 4
wcls ^b	x	.24	.09		
	norm			.13	.14
	add	1.00	1.00	.67	
	n+			.33	.43
	v				.14
	art				.14
	adj				.14
	conj				.14

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of pieces in CLT 1 that began with lpt). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKs that were 0).

Table 67

CHILD 15 - DIFFERENCES IN LETTERS OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 3</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		3	2	2
LG	S	.67	1.00	.50
	eS	.33		
	E			.50
wd	X =	42	128	45
ACT	cmpt	.67	.50	
	h	.67	1.00	1.00
	pol	.67		1.00
	dirSA		1.00	
	ref2p		1.00	
BEG	pos	.67		
	typ		1.00	
	frm			1.00
END	nice	.67		1.00
	frm	.67	1.00	
	spt			1.00
LINK ^b	and	.47	.14	.69
	Ø	.27	.36	.23
	so	.13	.31	.08
	other	.13	.17	
	then		.02	
QATT	X =	2.3	2.25	1.6
RINV E	phgen	.43		.31
	xL2	.29		
	phft		.15	
	worth		.55	.29
wcls	add	1.00	.67	
	nt		.33	.33
	art			.33
	conj			.33

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 2 written in S).

All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were and).

434-A

One way to describe Agustin's writing over the year is "erratic". What does not appear on Tables 66 and 67 is that this child seemed to relate genuinely to an addressee—by complimenting, switching language, and explicitly empathizing. He also had some style idiosyncracies; e.g., ending many pieces with "something nice". The two tables here reveal that his content plateaued (length, beginnings), improved and then worsened (links), and deteriorated (quality rating). On form, Agustin at first relinquished his most unconventional syntactically-based segments, but then he adopted the most unconventional of phonological segments (syLL). His Spanish spelling inventions became more literate while his English inventions became less mature. In sum, Agustin got both "better" and "worse" on content, "better" and "worse" on form between any two collections.

Child # 20

Ray, the child whose first written language was English, was one of the third graders chosen as an "interesting child".

(15) Collection 1

IF we win the Trophy
 ugen its gowen to us and
 i hop it Keps gowin to us
 nobude is gowin to take it from
 us ittle stay with us for
 ever more because wer cumen
 evore day . avre day

If we win the trophy again it's going to us and I hope it keeps going to us. Nobody is going to take it from us. It'll stay with us forevermore because we're coming every day, every day.

Collection 2

i still remember about yester day nite
we had to do the play about
(sausage)
the thanksgiving giving every body
(embarrassed) (was very fun)
was embarrased but it was very fun

I still remember about yesterday night. We had to do the play about the thanksgiving sausage. Everybody was embarrassed, but it was very fun.

Collection 3

A day in the woods
one day I was camping
and I found some cubs
and when I got one
in my hands a big
noise I wondered what
it was when I
could see a sight but I
thought for a second how
could I see a sight
in the night? It was
so big and mad. It
made me run as fast
as a jack rabbit
and then I lost it
and I stopped and
from that day I
never pick up a little
cub the end

A Day in the Woods
One day I was
camping and I found
some cubs and when
I got one in my
hands a big noise.
I wondered what it
was and then I
could see a sight
but I thought for
a second, how could
I see a sight in
the night?! It was
so big and mad. It
made me run as fast
as a jack rabbit.
And then I lost it
and I stopped. And
from that day I
never picked up a
little cub. The
End.

Collection 4

To day we went to
High School
To see girls and boys
dance and we also
saw a band and
it was very very
fun and it was
in a gym and
there was a boy
and a girl singer
and there was
a little volcano
that would shoot
out smoke that
would stink and
they were dressed
very nice and they
were in stings
with colorful stripes
and they had
strobes later at the
center we came
back and that's all
what happened

Today we went to
D High School to
see girls and boys
dance and we also
saw a band and it
was very very fun.
And it was in a gym
and there was a boy
and a girl singing
and there was a
little volcano that
would shoot out
smoke that would
stink. And they
were dressed very
nice and they would
have strings with
colorful stripes and
they shined strobe
lights at them and
then we came back.
And that's all what
happened.

Tables 68 and 69 provide both a tandem and a teeter-
totter progression.

Table 68

CHILD 20 - DIFFERENCES OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 1 vs. 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		Collection 1	Collection 2	Collection 3	Collection 4
		4	6	5	6
pieces	$\bar{X}$ =	58	77	64	83
wd ^a					
BEG	lpt	.25	.33	.60	.83
	ttl		.50	.60	
	stg			.80	.50
END	spt	.50		.60	.67
	sall		.50	.40	
	end			.60	.50
LINK ^b	then	.44	.24	.10	.19
	and	.32	.23	.37	.45
	$\emptyset$	.20	.45	.29	.24
	so	.04	.02	.14	.05
	but		.04	.08	.01
	other		.02	.02	.05
# of different					
LINKs		4	9	8	11
STYSYN	conpr	.75			
	conpt		.50	.80	.83
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.3	1.7	1.3	2.4
PUNC	invde		.17		
	ppe		.17		
	ppw		.17		
	unt		.17	.20	
	pcle				.17
	pcw				.17
HWT	licur	.25			
	allcur,		.67	1.00	.83

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 1 that began with lpt). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were then).

Table 69

CHILD 20 - DIFFERENCES IN EXPOSITORY PIECES OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 1 vs. 2 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 1</u>	<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		4	5	3
wd ^a	$\bar{X}$ =	58	65	107
LG ^a	s			.33
BEG	ttl		.60	
	lpt	.25	.40	.67
END	spt	.50	.20	.67
	sall		.60	
	end			.67
LINK ^b	then	.44	.17	.08
	and	.32	.40	.43
	Ø	.20	.29	.32
	so	.04	.03	.08
	but		.09	.03
	other		.03	.03
Ø of different				
links		4	9	9
STYSYN	conpr	.75		
	conpt		.40	.67
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.3	1.6	2.4
PUNC	invde		.20	
	ppe		.20	
	unt		.20	
	pcw			.33
HWT	cursive	.25	1.00	1.00
RINV S ^b	phgen			.36
	phft			.36
ratio of VINV E				
to CINV E		2.1	2.2	1.8
ratio of VINV S				
to CINV S				1.5

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 4 where LG was S).

All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of category (e.g. % of LINKs that were then).

That is, in the second collection, Ray showed signs of more mature writing in both content (endings, rating of quality) and form (punctuation, handwriting). This was the tandem pattern. A see-saw occurred between the second and third collections (down in content—endings, links, quality ratings, but up in form—handwriting). Between the third and fourth collection, his writing see-sawed again; this time, up in content (rating of quality, links) and down in form (punctuation).

Special note should be made of the ratio of Ray's vowel to consonant spelling inventions in both English and Spanish (see Table 69). Ray was the only one for whom Spanish was the second written language. And he was the only one who invented more spelling for both Spanish and English vowels than he did for consonants. That is, Ray's spelling showed that Spanish vowels were not inherently easy for every learner.

Child # 22

The other third grader looked at individually was Mario.

(16) Collection 1

Yo	pienso	que	quando
estaba	chiquito	no	me
acia	un	penni	por eso
no	me	ago	pen

Yo pienso que cuando estaba chiquito no me hacia un penny. Por eso no me hago penny.

(I think when I was little they didn't make me into a penny. Therefore, I don't become a penny.)

Collection 2

Yo fui a la cebolla 3 días
porque el domingo no
all cebolla y el domingo
de lo que me saqué en
la cebolla me compré
en los perros una
bicicleta de 15 dolares
me gané en tres días
15 pesos y luego
andaba yo arriando la
bicicleta y luego esta
ba una bicicleta
muy bonita y me
la quiero comprar
y tenía las llantas
gruesas

Yo fui a la cebolla 3 días porque el domingo no hay
cebolla y el domingo de lo que saqué en la cebolla
me compré en los perros una bicicleta de 15 dolares.
Me gané en tres días 15 pesos y luego andaba yo
arriando la bicicleta y luego estaba una bicicleta
muy bonita y me la quiero comprar y tenía las llantas
gruesas.

(I went to the onion field 3 days because Sunday
there's no onion field (work) and Sunday, with what
I got from the onion field I bought at the dogtrack
a bicycle for 15 dollars. I earned, in 3 days, 15
dollars and later I went riding the bike and then it
was a very nice bike and I want to buy it and it had
thick tires.)

Un día estaba en mi casa
comiendo nueces, yo pelé
una y adentro no estaba una nuez
salí Abraham Lincoln y estaba
recien nacido y pasaron años y años
y luego él tenía 20 años y luego se
casó y a él le gustaba leer la
Biblia y luego sus vecinos le
traían libros para que los
leera y se pasaba toda la
noche en la chimenea leyendo
los libros y luego era presidente
16 presidente y él se parecía
a la nuez porque él nació
en la nuez el fin.

La Nuez Podrida

Un día estaba en mi casa comiendo nueces. Yo pelé una
y adentro no estaba una nuez. Salí Abraham Lincoln
y estaba recién nacido y pasaron años y años y luego
él tenía 20 años y luego se casó y a él le gustaba
leer la Biblia y luego sus vecinos le traían libros
para que los leyera y se pasaba toda la noche en la
chimenea leyendo los libros y luego era presidente, 16
presidente, y él se parecía a la nuez porque él nació
en la nuez. El fin.

(The Rotten Nut
 One day I was in my house eating nuts. I peeled one
 and inside there wasn't a nut. Out came Abraham
 Lincoln and he was just born and years and years
 passed and then he was 20 years old. And then he got
 married. And he liked to read the bible and then his
 neighbors brought him books so he will read them and
 he would spend all night on the hearth reading the
 books. And then he was president, 16 president, and
 he resembled a nut because he was born in the nut.
 The end.)

Collection 4

El MAgico huevo

un día un niño
 fue junto de un
 huero y se puso a
 mirar que tenía ese
 huero y luego el huero
 se desapareció en el
 instante y el niño
 se sorprendió y
 luego el huero
 volvió aparecido y
 el niño agarró
 el huero y se lo
 llevó y lo puso en
 la mesa y luego
 el niño lo quemó
 el huero

El Mágico Huevo

Un día un niño pasó junto de un huevo y se paró a mirar qué tenía ese huevo. Y luego el huevo se desapareció en ese instante. Y el niño se sorprendió y luego el huevo había aparecido y el niño agarró el huevo y se lo llevó y lo puso en la mesa y luego el niño lo quebró el huevo.

(The Magic Egg

One day a boy passed by an egg and he stopped to look at what that egg had. And then the egg disappeared in that instant. And the boy was surprised and then the egg had appeared and the boy grabbed the egg and took it and put it on the table and then the boy broke the egg.)

Mario's progression was similar to Agustin's—better and worse on both content and form. Like José, Mario was a "resister". He resisted carrying out the teacher's requests for an English piece. (Tables 70 and 71 show, by omission, that he wrote entirely in Spanish throughout the year.)

Table 70

CHILD 22 - DIFFERENCES OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 1 vs. 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		Collection 1	Collection 2	Collection 3	Collection 4
pieces		3	4	5	3
wd	X =	40	62	90	70
BEG ^a	item	.33			
	pos	.67			
	rej	.33			
	lpt		.75	.40	.67
	trl			.60	1.00
	to			.40	
LINK ^b	Ø	.41	.40	.25	.04
	and	.41	.28	.49	.93
	so	.06	.09	.03	.03
	other	.03	.01	.06	
	then		.23	.15	
	but			.01	
STYSYN	conpr	.67			.33
	conpt		.50	.40	.67
	incon	.33	.50	.60	
QATT	X =	1.7	1.95	1.6	1.5
PUNC	pcw	.33	.25		
	Quot		.25		
	unt		.25		
	xcl		.25		
	hyp			.40	
	pmsf			.20	
HWT	licur	.33	.50		
	mocur			.20	1.00

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 1 with BEG of item).
All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were Ø).

Table 71

CHILD 22 - DIFFERENCES IN EXPOSITORY PIECES
OVER TIME, COLLECTION 1 vs. 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		Collection 1	Collection 2	Collection 3	Collection 4
pieces		3	4	2	2
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	40	62	90	70
BEG ^a	pos	.67			
	item	.33		.50	
	rej	.33			
	lpt		.75	.50	.50
	ttr			.50	1.00
	char				.50
	stg		.25		.50
	tpc		.25		
EXO	w	.67	1.00	.50	
	goth	.33			.50
	w+		.50	.50	
	ttr				.50
LINK ^b	Ø	.41	.40	.26	.05
	and	.41	.28	.52	.89
	so	.06	.09		.05
	other	.03	.01	.07	
	then		.23	.15	
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	1.7	1.95	1.45	1.55
SEG	not pp	.33	.25		
	syl		.75		
	not cp		.25		
	not frm			.50	
PUNC	pcw	.33	.25		
	Quot		.25		
	unt		.25		
	xcl		.25		
	pmsf			.50	
TILD	Ø			.50	.50
HWT	licur	.33	.50		
	mocur				1.00

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 1 with BEG of pos).

All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were Ø).

He resisted the teacher's topics (see collection 1, example (16), which was supposed to be on the topic "If I Were a Penny"), and he did not censor out culturally specific topics. His second collection experiments with punctuation never reappeared. Overall, Mario's quality ratings deteriorated, as did the variety of links he used. However, other content features (beginnings, tense and person perspective) improved. Form too presented a bi-directional progression: moving to conventional segments and cursive script at the same time that he increasingly left out punctuation and tildas.

Child # 25

If Mario's over-time picture was a bi-directional, David's was not. David was the Grade X child chosen for an individual look.

(17) Collection 1

yo jue lo con mis hermanitos
 con unas bicicletas
 cuando andabamos jugando salia
 una vibora le avisaron a mi hermano
 Le mató y se fue a una casa
 Yo tengo un perrito que se llama
 Lucas y juega con nosotros.

Yo juego con mis hermanitos con unas bicicletas.
 Cuando andabamos jugando salia una vibora. Le
 hablaron a mi hermano. La mató. Yo vivo en una
 casa. Yo tengo un perrito que se llama Lucas y
 juega con nosotros.

(I play with my little brothers with some bikes.
When we were playing a snake came out. They spoke
to my brother. He killed it. I live in a house.
I have a puppy named Lucas and he plays with us.)

Collection 2

ayer Juge en la bicicleta
Juge carritas aller
se me pasoe el bus
ayer anduve brincando
en las bajadas
ayer estube en
la casa ayer comi
ayer vide un avion volando

Ayer jugué en la bicicleta. Jugué carritos. Ayer
se me pasó el bus. Ayer anduve brincando en las
bajadas. Ayer estuve en la casa. Ayer comí. Ayer
vi un avión volando.

(Yesterday I played on the bike. I played little
cars. Yesterday a bus passed me. Yesterday I went
jumping on the slopes. Yesterday I was in the house.
Yesterday I ate. Yesterday I saw an airplane flying.)

Collection 3

esvagen Lincoln
el 12 de febrero
es el día de
su cumpleaños
1 fue muy
bueno i los negritos
sufrieron mucho

Abraham Lincoln

El 12 de febrero es el día de su cumpleaños y fue muy
bueno y los negritos sufrieron mucho.

(Abraham Lincoln
The 12th of February is his birthday and he was very
good and the negroes suffered a lot).

Collection 4

am; no me
gusto nada de
negros ami me
gusto las canciones
con la tambora
del cuete tambien
me gusta por
scraps una
cancion de
papelitos de
los de la ca
na gusto
toda la na de
cuete tambien
ami tambien me
gusto cuando
se pegaron al
platillo tambien
me gusta los
tambores por
se oia bien
toda la
na tambien
igual al dia con

A mí no me gustó
nada de ellas
(riegos?). A mí
me gustó las can-
ciones con la
tambora y el
cohetes. También
me gustó porque
hechaba humo y
cuando hechaba
papelitos y es
todo lo que me
gustó. Todavía
no les cuento todo.
Y a mí también me
gustó cuando le
pegaron al plati-
llo. También me
gustó las tamboras
porque se oía bien
recio. Luego nos
venimos y fuimos a
la (carer?).

(I didn't like any-
thing about those
(?). I liked the
songs with the drum
and the firecracker.
Also I liked it
because it sent out
smoke and when it
sent out little
papers and that's
all I liked. Still I
am not telling it
all. And I also
liked when they hit
the cymbal. Also I
like the drums be-
cause they sounded
really loud. Then
we came back and
went to the (?).

Except for gaining ground and then losing it regarding punctuation, David's writing became generally more mature over the year. (See Tables 72 and 73)

Table 72

CHILD 25 - DIFFERENCES OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 1 vs. 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		Collection 1	Collection 2	Collection 3	Collection 4
pieces		2	7	5	2
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	44	44	48	72
OP ^a	ass	.50	.71	.40	1.00
	bs	.50			
	sp	.50			
	ti	.50			.50
	rep		.29		
	clas			.40	
LINK ^b	Ø	.86	.59	.22	.30
	and	.14	.37	.39	.39
	so		.02	.11	.22
	other		.02	.06	
	then			.14	.04
	but			.08	.04
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	.65	1.0	1.4	2.15
SEG	nm	.50			
	not cp	.50			
	not pp	.50			
	syll	.50	.29		
	syw	.50			
	xprop	.50			
	conj		.43	.60	1.00
	not VP		.29	.40	
	syl		.86		
PUNC	pcle		.57	.40	
	hyp		.29		
HWT	licur			.20	
	mocur				.50
RINVS	phgen	.54	.74	.38	.48
	phft	.17	.17	.38	.24

a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 1 where OP was ass).

All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.

b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were Ø).

Table 73

CHILD 25 - DIFFERENCES IN EXPOSITORY PIECES OVER TIME,
COLLECTION 2 vs. 3 vs. 4

		<u>Collection 2</u>	<u>Collection 3</u>	<u>Collection 4</u>
pieces		6	3	2
wd	$\bar{X}$ =	36	31	72
LINK ^b	$\emptyset$	.60	.14	.30
	and	.33	.57	.39
	so	.03		.22
	other	.03	.14	
	but		.07	.04
	then		.07	.04
# of different				
links		4	5	10
QATT	$\bar{X}$ =	.8	1.3	2.15
SEG ^a	conj	.33	.67	1.00
	syl	.83		.50
	syll	.33		
	not frm		.33	.50
	not VP		.33	
	not pp			.50
PUNC	pcle	.50	.33	
HWT	mocur			.50
RINV S	phgen	.75	.41	.48
	phft	.16	.41	.24

- a = percentage of pieces (e.g. % of CLT 2 where conj occurred as SEG). All are 'a' unless marked as 'b'.
 b = percentage of that category (e.g. % of LINKs that were $\emptyset$).

His content rating improved more than any other child's. (He also started off lower.) He grew in fluency (length), variety and number of links between clauses, handwriting, basis for spelling invention, and basis for segmentation. In fact, features that resembled those of first graders' (segmentation and spelling) shifted to being third grade-like by year's end.

One very important lesson can be learned from looking at these most individual of progressions in the writing of these interesting individuals. That is, though data pooling can and did provide us with some overall patterns on each aspect we analyzed, there was no common progression on any category for any of these individuals. It was not even possible to find a shared pattern in the relationship between progress in form and progress in content. One child advanced in some content categories while regressing in form categories (or vice versa). Another became more mature in both; still another both advanced and retreated, etc., etc.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

There were so many findings it might be best to summarize the major ones. To reiterate the last first: there was no common developmental pattern that each child experienced in the same detail. Still, there were many generalities concerning aspects and influences on writing. Only the most general of the generalities will be listed here.

- 1) There was little written code switching. Code switching in English texts seemed like "slips" while in Spanish they were more substantive. What little code switching there was decreased in higher grades.
- 2) Spelling was not merely right or wrong, invented or conventional. There were both more and less literate in-

ventions. For example, more literate Spanish invented spellings were those based on phonics generalizations; less literate ones were based on phonetic features. Beginning English inventions were based on Spanish orthography. As children became more aware of the system of English spelling, they began to invent based on English phonics generalizations. All along, the systems were kept separate to some extent (e.g., saving the letter k for English, tildas and accents for Spanish).

3) There were four bases for unconventional segments: syntactic, phonological, "anti"-syntactic, and "anti"-phonological/morphological. The last two were used by just a few children. Over time, larger and more central syntactic units became conventionally segmented before smaller and more minor ones. Syllabic segments gained, then lost popularity. By the end of third grade, most children were segmenting conventionally most of the time.

4) Early invented punctuation patterns focused on local units—the word, the line, the page—and often concerned separation. Later invented patterns focused on text-ness.

5) Tildas were used frequently and usually correctly; accents were not. Not surprisingly, cursive writing predominated by mid-third grade. There was some use of cursive writing even in first grade, however.

6) Content of upper graders' writing was rated as higher in various qualities. Higher rating of English pieces

was due to most English pieces having been written by third graders. Likewise, lower quality ratings of unassigned writing was an artifact of first graders having written most of the unassigned pieces.

7) Links between clauses showed an overall pattern of no-links, then near total tying of clauses with and, then an increasing variety of lexical links. Such a pattern may reflect a more general and changing conception of what constitutes a text: unrelated clauses on a single sheet of paper; clauses tied only by virtue of the glue of and; clauses tied through various semantic relationships. Unassigned writing, even though written mostly by first graders, had a greater variety of lexical links.

8) The amount of exophora varied with type of piece and grade of writer.

9) There were few culturally specific and "bootlegged" topics, but there were more of these in Spanish pieces.

10) The most common organizational principle was the logic of association, followed by the logic of time. If the child, rather than the teacher, instigated the piece, it was more likely to be organized according to time.

11) Beginnings were often formulaic and genre-specific. Titles became common in third grade. Some genres elicited more closure than others.

12) Letters and books contained more marks (arrows, notes, etc.) directed to a reader than other types of writing. The more child-involved pieces, however,

usually contained no acknowledgement of a reader.

13) Essential features of book layout were present in almost all books. Journals frequently had no comment about what was important in the event mentioned. Letters contained fewer adult structure and layout features. Most stories were multi-episodic yet incomplete.

14) Language of the piece affected many features. English pieces were rated as higher quality, were more often organized on the basis of time, were more conventionally segmented. Spelling inventions were frequently based on Spanish orthography. Code switching was different than in Spanish pieces. Punctuation in English pieces was more related to letter formation than to text-ness, as it was in Spanish pieces.

Some children "did the same thing" in both Spanish and English pieces (i.e., used similar segmentation bases, similar solutions for how to end a text, etc.). Others did things differently depending on the language. Regardless of whether surface features for a given child were "the same" or "different" they reflected one underlying process: application of knowledge of L1 writing to L2 writing.

15) When children wrote out of their own intentionality, they used more marked and elaborate endings and less punctuation. More importantly, they wrote different types and struggled with different hypotheses. When, in addition,

they wrote as part of a genuine relationship between writer and reader, their pieces conveyed sincere intents.

16) Teachers' activities and beliefs affected children's writing at all levels. Teachers affected writing directly through assignments given (effect on genres), centers and materials provided (effect on poeticality), values and beliefs held (effect on length, spelling strategies), modeling (effect on syntax). Teachers affected writing indirectly through the print environment they created (on code switching), materials provided (on topics and punctuation), through beliefs (on organizational principle and conception of a text, on involvement of the writer with the text or with the problem or with the reader.)

17) Type of piece affected children's writing. Different genres usually looked like what they were. Some genres were written under different conditions (e.g., coaching by the teacher) so conditions and genre differences were sometimes interrelated. Writers were more involved with stories and books, which were also rated as having higher quality content than expository pieces or journals. These were also the two types that had some of the most advanced types of certain (but not all) features.

18) Differences over time were related to teacher or researcher influences as well as "development". "Developmental" changes over the year for each grade included increasing length, increasing variety of lexical links, and higher ratings of quality of content.

19) Additional "developmental" differences for first graders included: a shift from major syntactic-unit-based unconventional segments to syllabic and smaller syntactic unit segments; a shift from the use of phonetic features to phonic generalizations as the basis for Spanish spelling inventions; a decrease in invented punctuation patterns focusing on lines or words.

20) Additional "developmental" differences for second graders included: decreasing use of clustered-together major syntactic units as unconventional segments and increasing use of syllabic segments; a move from fewer to more links categorized as and; and an increasing use of text-based invented punctuation.

21) Additional "developmental" differences for third graders included: a shift from syllabic to syntactically-based unconventional segments with the latter being small/minor syntactic units; and increasing conventionality in segmentation and spelling.

22) "Developmental" differences in links for Grade X children resembled first graders' progression.

23) Some "developmental" differences for a given grade level only occurred in specific types of pieces. For instance, the bases for spelling inventions of English words changed in second grade letters but not in the other types of second grade writing.

24) Beginning of the year writing by Grade 1 and Grade X children was alike in certain respects (endings, links, organizational principle, syntactically-based segmentation, tense use, etc.). These features might therefore be related to experience with literacy. The writing of these two groups of children differed, however, in other respects (length of piece, beginnings, punctuation, basis for spelling inventions, code switching, syllabic segmentation). These features might be related more to age and language development than to schooling. (Spelling would be my choice to investigate as the first exception to this statement.)

SUMMARY OF THE SUMMARY

These tallied findings are of a different type than those reported in the preceding chapter that displayed evidence to counter various myths. That this chapter's content is based on numbers does not make it more important. In fact, some of the same findings appear here as appeared in chapter 4, though in different form. That is, presentations of findings in both chapters show that precise developmental patterns were individual; hypotheses were formulated/modified/abandoned through interaction with various contexts (teacher activity, language, intentionality, type of piece); and most important, writing development seems to be an exceedingly complex, multi-faceted process requiring an interactive, ecological system-like model to explain or to study it.

NOTES

¹ It was Bess Altwerger who first suggested looking for syntactic units in unconventional segments.

² I am grateful to Margaret Orr, whose diligence and perceptiveness allowed me to comment on syllabification, half and full spaces, the non-morphemic nature of syll, and various features of structure and layout which will be discussed under Stylistic Elements.

³ Table 32, as well as most of the tables to come, show only the percentages for the most frequently used sub-categories. The appearance of a blank space only signals that that sub-category was not one of the most frequently used ones for that collection, not that there were no codings at all for it.

⁴ The abbreviations refer to those listed in Table 6, chapter 2.

LOOKING AHEAD BY LOOKING BACK

It is easy to wonder if findings from the study of a few children in one Program will be useful to any other constituencies. After all, when examining tallies for individual children, we found no general developmental pattern shared by all. Of course, the seven children we chose to look at individually were "interesting kids"; each stood out in some way. Perhaps that was why "improvements" and "regressions", shifts in hypotheses, were more idiosyncratic. Still, on the basis of both careful investigation of tallies (this child does X in spelling and Y in links; that child does Z in spelling and A in links; this one shows increasing conventionality on all aspects along with more explicitness and coherence; that one is both more and less conventional over time, less explicit and more incoherent; still another is less conventional in all aspects but more coherent and also more lyrical, etc.) and general impressions, we would argue that growth in writing took individual paths.

Moreover, from observations of contexts (community, school district, teacher beliefs and classroom practices, the writing itself, etc.), we made a strong claim that writing was not merely developing in but through these contexts. That is, not only were fine details of "developmental sequences" specific to specific children, but so were more general configurations of writing features specific to this particular constellation of contexts.

Still, we maintain an affirmative answer to the question of wider usefulness. What this study offers practitioners in other settings, people in Duncan District in the future, and researchers in other contexts is both a minor and a major benefit. It provides a variety of surface details which might be used for comparison purposes. More significantly, the findings and their interpretation contribute important ideas about the underlying nature of writing development, about the relation of writing in first and second languages, the complexity of the profile of these children's language competence, and the interaction of contexts and literacy. These ideas have implications for practice (curriculum design, instruction, assessment) and research. I will list some of those implications that can be derived from findings that refute myths, and then some from emerged categories, tallied codings and their interpretations, interviews, classroom observations, etc.

IMPLICATIONS OF CONTRADICTIONS TO MYTHS

Readers will recall that there were many myths (see chapter 4) which these data contradicted. (Some have already been contradicted by others (e.g., Emig, in press). The myths belong to prevailing instructional and research paradigms pertaining to literacy and biliteracy. I use "paradigm" to emphasize that these myths constitute a world view (e.g., they determine the questions that are asked, what will count as answers, what the limits of the field of inquiry are, etc. (Kuhn, 1980)). The more major implications, then, of finding that such a paradigmatic

set of beliefs is mythical is not to find and install, one for-one, a set of opposing beliefs, as I presented in chapter 4. Rather, it is to find new issues altogether, new dimensions in a new conceptualization of literacy and biliteracy. For instance, again and again, these data refuted the notion that children are insensitive to the demands of different texts, although there was also evidence that they did not comply completely with such demands. If they both did and did not show such sensitivity, maybe a yes/no question (sensitivity or insensitivity) is not the best kind. Perhaps some issue other than text (in) sensitivity or text demands would produce a better question, would elicit a "sometimes, it depends" answer in the service of some more important issue (e.g., how and why do children vary their writing?) As another example, our subjects relied on the syllable as the basis for many of their unconventional segments. (Milz, 1980, and Ferreiro & Teberosky, n.d., have also indicated the importance of the syllable in young children's writing.) Yet adult "logic" usually emphasizes letters and words in both instruction and research. That is, units that do not account for those that function most meaningfully for the learner may not be the most helpful in research or teaching.

If new dimensions are needed, exchanging the conceptualization of literacy put forth by Harste and Carey (1979), Goodman, Goodman, and Flores (1979), and Smith (1978; 1982), with that embodied in the myths would be a fine

beginning. Beyond that, we need widespread acceptance of new "organizers" (other than "skills", "interference", "mastery", "readiness", "four language arts", etc.) for both instruction and research---labels, categories, issues, etc. that illuminate rather than distort the phenomenon in research, that support rather than interrupt the process during instruction. (Both Harste and Y. Goodman use support vs. interruption of the process to distinguish instruction from intervention. (Harste, 1981).)

Though, en toto, contradictions to the myths imply a need for alternate conceptions and categories, refutations of individual myths also have implications for changes in practice and research.

Language Deficit. For example, if these children are not language deprived, if we can not blame their language deficits for various problems, then it is necessary to begin a more honest search for why they and their counterparts in other schools are considered "high risk" educationally and are often the targets of early "identification and language/concept remediation". We might ask: high risk in relation to what? Perhaps they are more likely to meet "educational" failure only in schools where discrete point tests and literacy exercises constitute a closed and coherent circle of curriculum and assessment. Perhaps, in a school district which emphasizes authentic literacy during instruction and assessment, these children would not be "at risk" in the first place (See Edelsky et al, in

press, for a lengthy discussion of this issue.) Our data show that the children's ability in their mother tongue should not be the first place to look for the source of their educational difficulties. The powerlessness of their parents, an absence of "trusting relations" between children and school adults (McDermott's (1977) term for a situation where adults and children can make sense out of each other's interactional work), school definitions that equate literacy with scores on reading tests and school success with scores on achievements tests, pressure from an assortment of businesses that profit from maintaining definitions of literacy and school success that assure social class-related differences in success---all these would be more likely candidates for trying to understand why certain populations have so many "educationally high risk" children. While this study shows that an L1 language deficiency is not very helpful in gaining that understanding, it does not hint at what would be helpful. But it does imply that a correct analysis is necessary if we are serious about reducing the "risk", that solutions to non-problems (e.g., special classes to remedy the children's supposed language deficit) should not be a feature of educational policy.

L1 Interferes. Another belief these data refute is that knowledge of first language literacy (or L1 proficiency) "interferes" with second language literacy (or L2 proficiency). Instead, children were developing (and keeping separate) two written language systems, applying

what they knew about L1 writing to L2 writing, using written L1 knowledge to fill in the gaps when writing in L2. They applied specific hypotheses, strategies for literacy acquisition, "high level" knowledge about language and literacy, and key features of the literacy process itself. Our data make a plausible case for application, a process that highlights a child's linguistic and conceptual strengths. The literature on teachers' expectations and self-fulfilling prophecies also makes a plausible case for the value in seeing children as healthy, potentially successful learners rather than interfered-with, barrier-prone ones. Taken together, the implication, then, is that a change in perspective is in order. If children like these subjects are also not deficient, if others too in biliteracy programs show considerable knowledge of literacy in their native language and are able to apply that knowledge to literacy in the second language, surely they deserve to bear a precious burden---the pressure that comes from expectations that they have what it takes to succeed in learning to read and write.

Learning Comes From Teaching. It was possible, with data on segmentation, punctuation, and spelling especially, to show that learning and teaching of writing were not in a one-to-one relationship. Children learned without direct instruction; likewise, teachers taught (as observed and reported) without evidence of learning, at least during

the year of our study. That does not mean that teaching and learning were unrelated, but the connections seem subtle and indirect indeed. The implication for practice is that as curriculum workers and teachers, we need to eat a bit more humble pie. Beyond all their other faults, minute objectives for literacy are also arrogant. They encourage teachers to take credit or blame for all learning. Instead, literacy curricula should be planned that encourage teachers to be midwives to hypotheses, stage setters for print environments, coaches of literacy risk-takers, but not directors of input-output pairs.

Becoming Literate Means Learning Separate Skills. By providing glimpses of changes, leaps, backtracks, appearances and disappearances, etc. in child-generated hypotheses, these data also argue against the idea that "learning skills to mastery" is an adequate characterization of development in writing. As with the need to exchange "application" for the "interference" perspective, there is also a need to replace the idea that literacy is a matter of skill learning and the skills-oriented pedagogy that follows. New hypotheses, revisions in old ones, reorganization of several, etc. could and did occur within any of the sub-systems of written language. Though, after the fact, hypotheses were most often reasonable and explainable, it was impossible to predict, for any given piece, which system would be favored with a radical new hypothesis or even a minor revision in an old one. It seems crucial, therefore,

to have children participate in whole, authentic writing events—to have to contend with all sub-systems at once so that they have the chance to hypothesize about something as global as pragmatics or as local as a period. The "skills" perspective on literacy would have children manipulate other people's language in exercises or artificial assignments that eliminate some of the interacting systems of written language (this is usually the pragmatic system, encompassing the function of writing, and the lexical, semantic, and syntactic choices related to particular functions). Among the many problems this engenders is one with strong connections to these data. That is, such an approach prevents the generation of hypotheses regarding the cuing systems that have been eliminated and distorts those regarding the now-severed systems that remain. Removing cuing systems produces an object that only masquerades as language. That skill learning might occur with such material says nothing about whether or how the acquisition of written language might be taking place.

Universal Developmental Patterns. As mentioned at the start, we did not find any one pattern of writing development that was shared by all the children. The implication for practice, then, is to question scope and sequence schemes that try to establish a uniform set of "learnings" and that assess with one set of graded criteria.

Summary of Implications from Contradictions to Myths.
So far, the implications have been weighted toward practice,

though researchers might consider them as well. For example, rather than focusing research efforts on supposed language deficiencies, investigators might pursue variables from less surface analyses of the overall problem of educational failure. First language interference in second language reading and writing could cease to be a topic of research. Researchers could begin to take the child writer's perspective rather than the adult analyst's, hunting for the categories and units important to the learner. In evaluation or research, a variety of pieces (of different types, on different topics, from different days) would provide a messier but fuller picture of a child's writing ability than a single piece. And most obviously, the gaps in this study indicate that researchers must have as much knowledge as possible of the various circles of contexts in order to understand a piece of writing. Wherever possible, that should extend to observations of the writing act as it occurs, as well as to interviews or readings with the author (strategically placed so as not to interfere). Many aspects of various pieces of writing would probably have been less mysterious had we been present during their production.

All in all, the myth-contradictory data provide no justification for many current assumptions and practices in bilingual or monolingual Language Arts programs. These include separating the language arts into reading, writing, speaking, and listening (Smith, 1980, also decries this);

sequencing discrete objectives; assessing literacy on the basis of one piece of writing or one "reading"; relying on tests to represent a child's literacy abilities; assuming a constant literacy "level" (a grade level) regardless of contexts; trying to account for all learning and teaching with small objectives; approaching written language as if it were a string of skills; and frequently eliminating at least one crucial sub-system of written language—the pragmatic system. (In eliminating pragmatics, we fail to show children what writing is for and what it can do (Smith, 1982; Vygotsky, 1978).)

IMPLICATIONS FROM OTHER FINDINGS

The Developmental Process. In general, our children seemed to be developing their writing through internally generated hypotheses. These could concern amount of information; length; closings; bases for segmentation and spelling inventions; punctuation; links between clauses; handwriting; and more. The hypotheses were formulated, modified, and abandoned through interaction with various contexts. These contexts varied from classroom to classroom, print environment to print environment, piece to piece. They included teachers' activities and beliefs, motivation for the writing, type and language of piece, administrative mandates for classroom practice, expectations for children's success with literacy, community perceptions of literacy and its functions, etc. It was not merely in each of these contexts that children generated

hypotheses about the various sub-systems of written language, but through these contexts, occurring simultaneously, that such cognitive-linguistic work proceeded. Some constellations of contexts appeared to facilitate risk taking in hypothesis-construction. Others seemed to elicit caution. Some encouraged hypotheses with certain systems of written language while discouraging attention to others. Other constellations seemed more neutral, as if they were "granting permission" for writers to focus on any of the systems at any given moment. To repeat, it was only through contexts that writing occurred.

This has many important messages for both practitioners and researchers. It means that teachers and administrators must examine the contexts they are providing for children, knowing that children's hypotheses about written language (i.e., what they acquire) will be constrained or liberated by external factors. It means that evaluators and researchers must understand that any one piece of writing cannot show what a child can do (as others argue also; e.g., Donnelly and Stevens, 1980). And it means that researchers should probably understand and use something like an ecological system-model for studying writing development. At the very least, there is a need to acknowledge relationships between internal processes and external factors in writing.

A Study on a Bilingual Population. The categories generated in this study (as just one example, bases for

unconventional segmentation), the tallied findings (as only one instance, early invented punctuation focused on lines and words; later punctuation inventions were related to text-ness), the interpretations of data (for example, what counts as a text for young children may be anything that appears on a single page), as well as all the counter-evidence to prevailing myths—all of this shows that information from bilingual education programs and about bilingual populations is not inherently limited in usefulness to practice and research on bilingual programs and bilingual populations. The strategies and kinds of knowledge used in beginning writing that were revealed by examining first and second language writing in relation to each other was only possible because these children were biliterate to some degree. Implications that current sequencing in Language Arts programs (oral before written) should be examined and probably abandoned come from seeing children write a language before they could (or at least would) speak it. Bilingual programs are one of the few contexts that enable anyone to investigate such sequences, since children who acquire literacy only in the mother tongue already have oral proficiency on entrance to school. (Another context for exploring the wisdom of sequencing in language arts is with non-oral physically handicapped youngsters.) People who are interested in "regular, ordinary" literacy in monolingual education, then, would do well to become familiar with research findings on

literacy in bilingual education, especially from studies that investigate psycho-socio-linguistic processes in literacy. The moral of the story is: if the shoe of parochialism fits, take it off!

Effects of Writing on Teachers. The three study teachers and three aides reported in interviews that seeing their students' ideas expressed in writing made them realize that their students had good ideas, were smart, capable, etc. Moreover, they said the children's writing had made teaching a "more interesting job". As of this date (February, 1982), the Bilingual Program Director reports that it is a rare day that some classroom adult from one of the other bilingual classes does not come to her office waving a child's writing and exclaiming s/he had not known so-and-so was so smart, but look at this! An emphasis on writing, it seems, enhanced these children in the eyes of teachers and aides. I have no proof to offer, other than alluding to teacher expectation literature, but it is reasonable to suggest that such enhanced perceived status increases the children's chances of actual success in school.

It is necessary to understand something else about contexts to appreciate how children's writing could affect teachers' perceptions. At the time of this study, school writing was not commercially packaged like school reading. Therefore, teachers could look at children's writing almost directly, through only one filter—their own biases.

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Their view was not also clouded with the biases of some commercial instruction and evaluation scheme. Without the pressure imposed by packaged writing materials, it was probably easier for teachers to avoid confusing progress with some "instructional" scheme for progress with a process; it was more likely that teachers might catch glimpses of and come to appreciate the process itself. Teachers could then act more as professionals, allowing themselves to be more insightful, making more qualified and subtle judgements (as opposed to checking off answers on a ditto sheet). No wonder that teaching was "more interesting" when children did a great deal of writing! All of this strongly implies that efforts must be made to prevent writing from becoming packaged (and profitable for someone other than children and teachers). Teachers must be persuaded that they do not need such "help", that having children write in school is not only rewarding but easy. Beyond that, school boards and administrators must be persuaded that there is no need to invest money in packaged writing programs in order for children and teachers to reap enormous benefits.

Print Environment. From observations of the actual print environments (what print materials were available and which were used) in a half dozen Bilingual Program classrooms, from observations of children interacting with those print environments, and from reflections of the print environments in children's writing, it seems that both Spanish and English print environments were inadequate.

Children were not read to frequently from good children's literature, and they spent little time reading themselves. The Spanish print environment was especially insufficient since it barely existed outside of school (what was in school was therefore almost all there was), and since it was of poorer quality (stories cut out of primers, dittoed materials, etc.). Because it seemed as though some aspects of the older children's writing at least (e.g., persistent unconventional segmentation, absence of any punctuation in many pieces) might have reflected minimal interaction with a meager print environment (in addition to other features of the writing contexts), it seems important for both practitioners and researchers to examine print environments when they concern themselves with literacy. Settling too quickly for meager environments, even in hard-to-supply Bilingual Programs, or ignoring the issue entirely do not seem like the most appropriate responses.

"Classroom Management". This is in quotation marks because I do not believe the purposeful, orderly, polite, cooperative, etc. activity we saw in some of these classrooms was due simply to teachers' skills in planning, organizing, and managing the classroom. Classes where discipline was rarely an issue, where children and teachers saw each other as sensible beings (McDermott's (1977) "trusting relationships"), where children took out their own materials and cleaned up after themselves without

direction, where teachers seemed to be "playing themselves" as genuine people rather than "playing teacher"—these were also relatively "open" classrooms. That is, subject matter areas were not tightly bounded (weak framing, according to Bernstein, 1975); children and teacher collaborated on some of the planning; curriculum was experienced in relatively large time blocks. From an outsider's perspective, what seemed to undergird the pleasant and productive atmosphere was not "management" but a particular quality to the interpersonal relations in those classes. Unfortunately, I have no information on how the teachers established that crucial classroom climate, but my strong hunch is that it was probably through certain kinds of verbal interaction growing out of a particular stance vis à vis the children, along with certain deliberate efforts to turn some legitimate power over to the children. Even without information on how the climate was established and maintained, however, it is still important to note that these children, who are often considered to be requiring of close supervision (along with a highly structured curriculum) so that they stay "on task", in fact displayed extraordinary self-direction. With a combination of interesting literacy activity (like child-controlled writing) and near palpable mutual respect and caring among participants, they were able to contribute to the construction of such pleasant classroom climates.

Nature of Children's Language Proficiency. Since our subjects code-switched orally so frequently, it is easy to understand why they are sometimes considered (by the linguistically unsophisticated) to be speakers of one hodge-podge variety, or (by some with more linguistic sophistication) to be speakers of one variety with inherent variability. It is thus a major finding that the children code switched so rarely in writing. What this means is that they were indeed bilingual and able to stay in one language at a time, even if only in writing. Having written language data not only quells any doubts about the children's bilingualism; it also provides another piece of a complex picture—a person's language competence. Based on this study, it seems wise to consider using written as well as oral language samples when attempting to ascertain language profiles.

Genres. Tallied codings showed that children varied openings, closings, organizational principles, links between clauses, punctuation, originality of content, etc. with variation in the genres they wrote. If frequent opportunity to try out openings in letters (for different recipients, with different purposes), for instance, is part of what extends one's letter-opening repertoire, then educators must see to it that children have varied experiences with many types of writing. Of course, it is also possible that much experience in writing, conferencing, even publishing only one type of writing (e.g.,

stories) helps children develop as writers of other types (e.g., letters), that children do not need experience with a variety of types. Other research is needed to help answer such a question.

Regarding these data, prior familiarity with a type did seem to help children supply general structural features of that type. Thus it is probably not necessary to "teach" letters or books in general. Instead, in most cases, teachers can rely on a general concept of book, letter, story to "be there". Whether such concepts are "there" or not (a general concept of "expository writing" is probably not available to beginning writers), they can most likely be built or extended when children interact with different kinds of writing under a certain condition—involvement ("engagement with the demonstration", in Smith's terms (Destefano, 1981)).

Language of Text; Instigator of Piece. Although, according to coded tallies, neither pieces written in Spanish nor those written at the child's instigation were uniformly "better" (more conventional, more "literate" spelling and segmentation inventions, higher rated content, organized on a time or hierarchical rather than associative logic, etc.) than pieces written in English or assigned by the teacher, changing the language of the text and the instigator of the piece did change aspects of the children's writing. Unfortunately, computer tallying did not sort out different grades when English and Spanish (or assigned

and unassigned) pieces were compared. (For budgetary reasons it was not possible to then re-sort by language by grade (or by assigned/unassigned by grade) after we realized that unequal contributions by different grades had probably swamped the differences subjectively noted, as we coded, that seemed related to language or instigator of piece.) As discussed in chapter 5, third graders wrote most of the English pieces and first graders wrote most of the unassigned pieces. Thus, English pieces look better than they were in tally comparisons with Spanish pieces and unassigned writing looks worse than it was in comparison with assigned writing because of these unequal contributions to the pool of pieces by writers with different amounts of literacy experience.

Obviously, an implication for ourselves doing research in the future is not to ignore our own assumptions and theoretical premises. We knew at the start that pooling data is fraught with difficulties, but that we would have to do some of it in order to even compare, for instance, the work of one child in September to her work in April. We intended to do as little data pooling as possible. Instead, we overdid it in this case, lumped together all Spanish and then all English pieces, and thus obliterated some very important distinctions.

However, another assumption/theoretical premise that I continue to honor is that interpretation, subjectivity, impressions gained from un-"systematic" interaction with

data can generate worthwhile statements about data. As we coded and subjectively compared Spanish and English pieces, unassigned and assigned writing for a given child, we developed the following impressions:

there seemed to be no cases where L2 writing showed more involvement of the writer with the text than L1 writing, L2 writing seemed more perfunctory;

segmentation and spelling in L2 writing appeared more conventional for the youngest but not the oldest children;

unassigned writing seemed more likely to make use of expressive, poetic language, to be more coherent, to accomplish a genuine function than assigned writing; it looked like more attention was paid to the text-as-object (work of art?) in unassigned writing; children as inexperienced with literacy as first graders could write without assignment and for long periods of time at one sitting.

Occasionally donated pieces from other non-study classrooms confirmed these impressions.

Despite the unclear tallied comparisons then, we still believe the differences in the hypotheses children made depending on language and instigator of piece were important. The implication of this assertion is that children must have the opportunity to develop first language writing, and to write without assignment. Some important aspects of

a young writer's relationship with a text are simply not attempted in L2 writing. These are aspects that would suffer or be impossible to develop through exercises, that most likely must emerge organically out of a writer/process-of-writing/piece-of-writing relationship. The same can be said for unassigned vs. assigned writing. If classroom practice does not establish means for and encourage children to write out of their own intentionality, then it substantially distorts young writers' experience with written language. It deprives them of truly intending, of matching intentions to conventions (Smith's apt phrasing, 1982) of finding ways to have an effect they want to have.

Single Predictors of Writing Ability. Although the hypotheses a given child made did vary from piece to piece, language to language, assigned to unassigned, genre to genre, etc.; i.e., although literacy was not constant across contexts in its particulars, there was agreement among researchers, teachers, and aides that some children were generally very good or very bad writers. (Such agreement was not to be had vis à vis the majority of children who approached neither extreme, however.)

Nevertheless, readers may recall that when we tried to group children on single dimensions (e.g., high to low use of written code switching, high to low use of invented spellings, high to low use of unconventional segments) to see if there were other commonalities besides many or few code switches, for example, we soon abandoned the effort.

This was because, regardless of the single dimension we chose, we found both good and poor writers in the same group. Of course we were not using semantic, syntactic, or pragmatic dimensions. Perhaps on a scale regarding coherence, organization, effective matching of lexico-syntactic system to function, etc., one dimension would have discriminated sensibly. However, attempting to use grapho-phonetic dimensions or one low level sociolinguistic/lexical one (predominantly single-word code switches) was futile. The mechanics the general public often clings to as being marvelously discriminating (e.g., "good spelling is a prerequisite to good writing") did not live up to their reputation. A concerted effort must be made, then, to convince pressure groups and policy makers that while being able to spell, for instance, is not irrelevant, neither does it guarantee good writing. And other data from this study shows that in both classrooms that did and classrooms that did not emphasize spelling, children still created their own spellings and unconventional segments; that over time, regardless of the classroom emphasis, both spelling and segmentation became more conventional.

PRACTICES SUPPORTED BY THIS STUDY

Implications for practice mentioned so far have been weighted toward the negative; i.e., these findings do not justify separating the Language Arts, listing and sequencing objectives, assessing writing on the basis of one sample, etc. However, these findings also support many practices

that do occur in (too few) classrooms and that are advocated by some growing grass roots teacher organizations such as SMILE (Support and Maintenance for Implementing Language Expression, a Greater Phoenix group begun by a handful of teachers opposed to straight-jacket reading instruction schemes. This group now attracts audiences of 700⁺ at Saturday morning workshops devoted to sharing ways to develop written and oral language authentically) and TAWL (Teachers Applying Whole Language, with members in Arizona, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. TAWL publishes a newsletter as one means of creating a supportive network for people who are often isolated in their schools and districts by their literacy theories which run counter to prevailing "skills" and "phonics" approaches to literacy).

Practices supported by this study are also those advocated by "whole language" theorists (Goodman & Goodman, n.d.; Harste & Burke, 1977; Smith, 1982; Graves, 1978; Calkins, in press). The whole language approach to literacy assumes that literacy learning is natural, enjoyable and easy if the environment (including instruction) supports the literacy acquisition process. That means it must demonstrate to children the existence of a variety of whole texts and people using and creating those texts (not necessarily long but rather, whole texts with all systems intact). It must provide children with some reason to interact with and produce texts, and it must attend to the meanings children make in and out of texts.

The notion of whole, functioning text is crucial here. A one word bumper sticker, functioning as a bumper sticker (proclaiming its owner's beliefs/or affiliations) is an instance of whole language. The function of bumper stickers (a pragmatic feature) adds to the predictability of what the print might be. A one word flash card, however, is not a whole functioning, authentic text. It could conceivably say anything. No syntactic or pragmatic systems constrain it. It has no function other than that determined by the teacher. The units of "whole language" are not words, sentences or paragraphs. As Moffett and Wagner (1976) argue, these are artificial units of language. Writers do not set out to write sentences or paragraphs, but stories, recipes, novels, epitaphs, jokes, etc. In other words, proponents of a whole language approach to literacy require that the language offered to and produced by children consist of authentic written speech events, discourses, texts.

A whole language approach to development in writing requires that children read widely. No amount of writing, without the reading of other authors' more advanced, conventional writing, can present all the systems of conventions that must be acquired (Smith, 1982). The in-school writing, moreover, should occur in classrooms where teachers write themselves, where writing is demanded but topics are not assigned, where revision is part of many activities, and where teachers respond to children's content (Graves, 1978).

In such classrooms, children write (and read) about what they care about (Calkins, in press). Their engagement during reading (i.e., involvement with the task) opens them to noting "ah, so that's how that word is spelled", even though they don't set out to read, for instance, in order to have a spelling lesson (Smith, as summarized in DeStafano, 1981). In these classrooms, children produce many types of writing, conference about some of it, revise then edit then publish some of it. Their writing is used—for enjoyment of themselves and others, for helping them extend their own understandings, for reminding, directing, persuading, etc.—all "for real".

The data in this study support such practice both by absence and presence. That is, though this Bilingual Program brashly claimed but actually aimed to be one using a whole language approach to literacy, in actuality (as described in chapter 3), many features of this approach were missing. Some teachers offered children only artificial pieces of someone else's language to manipulate. All had children writing about what they most likely did not care about. Artificial school genres were created. Few pieces of writing had any function other than to comply with an assignment. Some letters even had no identifiable addressees. There was little evidence of wide reading; almost no publishing; revision was seen as related to errors (in spelling or punctuation or in amount and type of information rather than as related to completion);

teachers did not write alongside children. Out of fairness to the changes we have seen these teachers make in the last several years, I must remind readers that in this Program teachers did have children writing every day; they did emphasize content over form; they did send most letters that were written; they did establish a daily journal writing time; they did accept at least some unconventional forms; they did provide for some sharing of writing with peers. Therefore, while these classrooms were not whole language classrooms, they did provide children with many advantages not often available in school.

By omission, then, our data show the absent features mentioned earlier. We can see the consequences of many of these absences in the writing. Many pieces showed no involvement of writer with writing. Writing from classrooms that offered children artificial pieces of language to read had no texture, and resembled workbook exercises. We had no evidence of revision other than erasures at the word level, addenda prompted by Ms. D, or an occasional re-copying (not exactly a revision) at the request of Ms. S. On the other hand, we had much evidence that children rarely re-read their writing, let alone revised it. Although all pieces displayed characteristics that differed from the children's oral language, there were only a few stories for instance, that resonated strongly with the melody of written narrative. Classroom observations and the writing from classrooms where teachers had different theories and

practices, the differences in assigned and unassigned writing, the differences in writing of various types or genres—such data and findings support the "whole language" position that the unit of language dealt with in literacy programs is crucial, that children learn different things from working with a sentence vs. a purposeless text vs. a text-with-intent, etc. On the other hand, the more a classroom's writing program diverged from "phonics" or "skills" approaches (see Harste & Burke, 1977 for definitions), the more a program included of what is involved in real writing, the more systems of written language children had to cope with simultaneously, the heavier demand on children to read, the "better" the writing seemed. That is, the children's hypotheses were more sophisticated. Their openings and closings, their spelling and segmentation inventions were more "literate". The functions of pieces were more transparent and seemed more genuine.

QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Although we had anticipated it with our stance on the importance of contexts, until we were well into the coding we did not appreciate how extensive the influence of the teacher was on the children's writing. It should be quite revealing therefore to compare this writing with that from sites with teachers who have different characteristics (e.g., teachers who are prepared to teach writing, who have informed theories on the writing process, who know children's literature in both languages, who are writers

themselves); different practice (e.g., where teachers give few assigned topics but do expect writing, where they use revision as a tool for re-thinking and differentiate it from editing, where teacher-child and child-child conferences focus on the writer's information, where selected writing is published); different print environments (e.g., with a Spanish print environment that rivals the English one in quantity, quality, and use). We know now that the children's writing would be different under such circumstances. The question is: how? Would it be possible to make any direct connections between specific aspects of writing development and any of these contextual factors? Even more interesting would be to look for the processes and mechanisms whereby contextual factors interact with children's hypotheses about written language.

Combinations of data on early segmentation, punctuation, and links between clauses tantalized us with hints that a particular child's writing hypotheses did not spring into existence singly and unrelatedly. Instead, it seemed that hypotheses might form systems and that development (shifts in hypotheses) probably consists of partial or total re-organization of whole systems. We believe the idea merits further study.

Similarities and differences between the writing of the older, relatively unschooled Grade X children and first graders' writing raised an old issue once again. Which kinds of literacy hypotheses are more attributable to

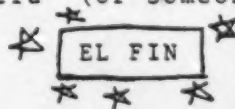
amount of interaction/experience with print and which are a function of social or cognitive maturity or language development?

It is obvious to us that this study did not extend over a long enough time to look at the development of individuals. For instance, the two second graders who segmented most unconventionally (e.g., pous T r/poster; ra cks/rocks), coded as syll, used more of this kind of segmentation at the end of the year than at the beginning. One year was not long enough to see if and when they abandoned this hypotheses, or what led to its modification or abandonment. Another example: in order to get more than a hint about the connection between changes in the use of links and changes in conceptions of what constitutes a text, it is probably necessary to have writing samples from the same child, beginning before first grade and extending at least into third grade. In other words, a long-itudinal study (three or more years) of the writing of a few children in a biliteracy program would provide information that can not be gained in one-year longitudinal efforts.

Several (e.g., Smith, 1980; Sowers, in press) have mentioned the impact of writing on the writer, praising its potential for instilling feelings of competence, control, understanding. We did not observe children over the whole year, nor did we interview them. With only teachers' and aides' reports on the issue, we have little information

on how writing affected these writers. Further research on writing might focus on this topic, taking into account that potential benefits probably bear a strong relationship to the types of writing children do and the conditions under which they write.

With luck, the children in this study will continue to write in school. With continuing effort on the part of consultants, teachers, and aides, the contexts through which they (and others) write will benefit from these findings. But this particular report (to quote first grade Rosa, "gracias maestra" (or someone) for that!) stops here.



ADDENDUM

Not quite. There is a sad addendum from our perspective.

In the 81/82 school year, Duncan's Bilingual Program Director began to incorporate the findings from this study into in-service sessions for Program teachers. These efforts, along with a variety of other factors, have had some positive effects. Two of the first grade teachers who spent almost the whole study year drilling children on phonics, have begun to allow their students to write early in the year, without near-total supervision. Several other teachers have begun to make concerted efforts to have their children read more, with more involvement, and less substituting the accumulation of filled-in book report forms for reading. It looked like success was on the horizon (i.e., having children achieve educationally through being able to really read and write—developing and integrating literacy functionally into their in-and out-of-school lives). Foolish optimism!

This winter, the District adopted a Language Arts Scope and Sequence Statement that was developed by District teachers and the District Curriculum Developer. The Statement contains "mastery items" that ask first graders to identify consonant blends, short and long vowels, etc., second graders to "master graphemic bases" (e.g., -ing, -ant, -er, etc.), middle graders to identify parts of speech. Nothing in the Statement is congruent with the whole language approach the Bilingual Program has been

working toward for the last several years. Criterion referenced tests, coordinated with the Scope and Sequence Statement, will be given in the Fall and the Spring.

Up until now, federal funding of the Bilingual Program has exempted the Program from using the same approach (which happened to be one of discrete skills) the rest of the District used (and that these children's older siblings failed at for years in this District). This exemption is what allowed the Bilingual Program to emphasize writing. With an end to federal funding, Bilingual Program curriculum is more susceptible to the direction taken by the District at large. While that direction was always predominantly in the camp of the "skills theory of literacy", it is only with this Scope and Sequence Statement that District policy has established a uniform list of small, discrete objectives, in English, for both monolingual and bilingual classrooms.

Perhaps this is just another put-out-able "brush fire", like those other frequent, potentially threatening events mentioned in chapter 3. But right now, it seems like this will be more like an earth-scourging blaze. If we sense correctly, if the Director can not manage to stave off the impact of this adoption and protect the growth both teachers and children are making in writing and literacy, then we predict a return to pre-Bilingual Program failure, now doubly difficult to endure because it will occur in two languages. We predict that teachers, feeling pressured to ensure that children will pass the criterion referenced

tests, will spend what would have been time for writing and reading on workbook lessons aimed at teaching bits of spelling isolated from bits of "decoding" isolated from bits of punctuation, etc. Children will not have time or encouragement to interact purposefully with authentic texts or to produce them. Exercises will teach implicitly that out-of-context bits are more important than meaningful language that does something. Children will once again experience themselves as failures or non-comprehenders of "work" that is nonsensical; attendance will drop off; eventually the children will drop out.

Granted there are other factors besides the nature of the literacy program which are involved in drop out rates. Perhaps our fears are exaggerated. Perhaps.

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